TUITION FEES FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN FINLAND:

A CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

by

LEASA MARIE WEIMER

(Under the Direction of Sheila Slaughter)

ABSTRACT

Until 2010, the higher education system in Finland was tuition-free for all students, regardless of nationality, pursuing bachelors', masters', and doctoral degrees. Under the *New Universities Act of 2009*, the Finnish Ministry of Education increased the autonomy of universities, encouraging them to become more entrepreneurial and innovative. Out of this new legislation came a five-year pilot program allowing universities to collect tuition fees from international students (non-European Union and non-European Economic Area students) enrolled in select English-taught master programs. This landmark social change necessitates a better understanding of the collective action, both in Finland and the wider field environment, which created an opening for the new public management agenda facilitating market-oriented higher education reforms. This qualitative multiple case study examines the history leading to the tuition pilot program, the discursive formation of collective actors, and how two universities respond to the opportunity to collect tuition fees. The theories of strategic action fields and academic capitalism are employed to analyze how collective strategic actors advocate and resist the move towards market-based reforms. This study concludes that collective actors are instrumental in the Finnish higher education field as challengers promote new public management reforms mirroring academic capitalism practices while incumbents resist market-based reforms and struggle to maintain a tuition-free system. The findings illustrate differential effects of academic capitalism as the "world class" university, when compared to a regional university, responds differently to the opportunity to collect tuition fees.

INDEX WORDS: Tuition, International Higher Education, International Student Market, Finnish Higher Education, Strategic Action Fields, Academic Capitalism

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LEASA MARIE WEIMER

B.A., University of Colorado, 1995

M.A. Joint Degree: University of Oslo, Norway;
University of Tampere, Finland &
University of Aveiro, Portugal, 2008

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LEASA MARIE WEIMER

Major Professor: Sheila Slaughter

Committee: James Hearn
Erik Ness
Berit Karseth

Electronic Version Approved:
Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
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DEDICATION

To my parents, Bob and Sharon, who have taught me the value of education and supported my educational pursuits and international adventures with unconditional love.

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I made it to the summit, now it is time to ski down the mountain and enjoy the scenery!

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CIMO	Centre for International Mobility
CRE	Association of European Universities
EC	European Commission
ECTS	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
EEA	European Economic Area
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EGM	Emerging Global Model
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EK	Confederation of Finnish Industries
EM	Erasmus Mundus
EMJD	Erasmus Mundus Joint Doctorate
EMMC	Erasmus Mundus Masters’ Courses
ESU	European Students’ Union
EU	European Union
EUA	European University Association
EUDIS	European University Diversifying Income Streams
FINHEEC	Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council
GBP	Great Britain Pound
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GERM	Global Educational Reform Movement
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution

IDMPs	International Degree Masters' Programs
JYU	Jyväskylä Yliopisto; University of Jyväsklä
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NUS	National Union of Students
NPM	New Public Management
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SAF	Strategic Action Field
SEK	Swedish Kroner
SYL	National Union of University Students in Finland
UAS	University of Applied Sciences
UNIFI	Universities Finland

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

The global marketplace for international students continues to grow as the number of mobile international students rises and governments and higher education institutions (HEIs) compete to attract global talent and revenue. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reports that in 2009, 3.3 million students studied outside their home countries, a significant increase from the 1.9 million students who studied abroad in 1999 (2010a). This widening market becomes more important due to an amplified demand for HEIs to bring in external revenue, rising educational and research demands, and a competitive global labor market. This has resulted in the imposition of (and increase in) tuition fees. Hence, Nordic countries that have traditionally been free of tuition, such as Denmark, Finland, and Sweden, are responding to these demands and fiscal pressures by implementing new measures not only to recruit international students, but also to capitalize on the competitive fees-paying international student market. Yet, each of these countries has taken a unique national approach to the introduction of tuition fees.

This study explores the distinct path taken by Finland in the introduction of a tuition pilot program in 2010. Until 2010, the Finnish Constitution guaranteed a tuition-free higher education (HE) system for all students, regardless of nationality, pursuing bachelors’, masters’, and doctoral degrees. With the *New Universities Act of 2009*, the Finnish Ministry of Education increased the autonomy of HEIs, encouraging universities to become more entrepreneurial and innovative. Out of this new legislation came a five-year pilot program allowing universities to collect tuition fees from international students[1] (non-European Union [EU] and non-European Economic Area [EEA] students) enrolled in specific English-taught masters' programs. In this new legislation, the Ministry granted 131 international degree masters' programs (IDMPs)[2] within nine universities and 11 universities of applied sciences (UAS) (polytechnics sector) the opportunity to take part in the experimental tuition program beginning in the fall of 2010.

Out of the 131 selected IDMPs only 24 chose to collect tuition fees (Ministry of Education, 2012d). Selected universities and polytechnics choosing to collect tuition fees make decisions on the tuition fee amount, student selection, and enrollment (Hölttä, et al., 2010). While the participating IDMPs in the tuition experiment are small in number, the creation of such a program in Finland serves as a turning point in the shift to a more market-oriented HE system. Free-of-charge Finnish HE has reflected the basic principles and ideals of the Finnish welfare state (e.g. universalism and equal opportunities); hence a shift towards commercializing HE is dramatically at odds with the social and cultural history of the country. Educational equality has been the cornerstone of the Finnish welfare system since the end of World War II, thus resistance to the tuition pilot program has been significant.

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[1] Throughout this study, the terms "international student", "foreign student", and "third country student" are used interchangeably to mean non-EU/EEA students. I have, however, chosen "international student" as the default naming convention in this study to refer to non-EU/EEA students. In Finland, international students are referred to as "foreign students"; the reader will find this in various quotes from policy documents, newspaper articles as well as from Finnish respondents. In the European regional policy documents international students are termed "third country students". I find the words "foreign student" and "third country student" problematic as they portray international students as the "other," someone who is inferior or who does not fit into the mainstream society. Marginson (2012) calls this space where international students reside as an unregulated "gray zone" with "incomplete human rights, security and capabilities" (p. 497).

[2] IDMPs are defined as degree-granting masters' programs, taught in a language other than Finnish or Swedish, typically enrolling Finnish and international students (Weimer, 2012).

At a time when many European countries are moving towards tuition policies (European University Association, 2012c; Jongbloed, et al., 2010), Finland is experimenting with the idea of collecting tuition fees for international students. The movement for tuition fees has evolved over the years, moving the issue from a taboo topic to a policy instrument. At the same time, the resistance movement against tuition fees is quite strong and has been successful in maintaining the status quo of a tuition-free HE system. The purpose of this study describes and analyzes the struggle for and against tuition fees as collective actors seek to protect or change the status quo.

Background

Finnish Higher Education System

Finland, a small Nordic country of 5.4 million people, is renowned for its high level of investment in education and research. The binary HE system has 16 universities and 25 UAS (polytechnics) and enrolls 306,899 students, 15,707 of which are international students (Ministry of Education, 2012a; CIMO, 2011). HE has always served an important role in the nation state. Historically, Finnish HE is recognized as being an essential institution for nation-building initiatives (Välimaa, 2004). After World War II, Finnish politicians created a welfare state in which equal access to HE was deemed a cornerstone to the welfare agenda. In 1995, Finland joined the EU and became more integrated into the global economy. Since then, Finland has prided itself in being a “good pupil” in the EU, as they are among the first to respond to suggested national educational reforms coming from the supranational level (Ahola & Mesikämmen, 2003; J. Välimaa, personal communication, Nov. 9, 2012). Presently, the Finnish government promotes HE as a fundamental institution for economic development to compete in the knowledge economy.

The rise of the "new economy," a shift from an industrial economy to an economy based on knowledge, has transformed the way societies use knowledge (Castells, 1996; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Thus, productivity and competitiveness of modern society relies on knowledge as a raw material and how people and organizations organize around the creation and dissemination of knowledge (Castells, 1996). Over the past two decades, change processes in Finland and Europe have led to New Public Management (NPM) and market-based reforms. The 2009 University Act reforms increased the market-orientation of Finnish HEIs by not only launching the tuition pilot program, but also by introducing new legal statuses. HEIs are now separated from the state and function as either a corporation (subject to public law) or a foundation (subject to private law) (Ministry of Education, 2012b). Before the 2009 University Act HEIs were restricted when making financial business decisions; however, the new legislation reduces these restrictions making it possible for HEIs to manage assets and capital income and at the same time seek out private funds (Aarrevaara, et al., 2009). In addition to the new legal statuses, the 2009 reform package increased university autonomy and restructured the composition of university boards encouraging more external members and connections with industry. These reforms demonstrate how the role of HE in Finland is changing: "The fact that neither academic labor unions nor students were able to raise a political movement against this reform speaks for it that the understanding of the social role of universities, in particular, and of higher education, in general, is changing in Finnish society" (Välimaa, 2010, p. 13).

Traditionally, the Finnish HE system has been without institutional status hierarchy (Välimaa, 2010). However, this too is changing with the 2009 reforms. A merger of three highly respected HEIs resulted in the creation of Aalto University. With the 2009 reforms, this new university was granted foundation status (operating under private law) and thus given the ability to create and generate an endowment. The expectation is that Aalto University will achieve "world class" status by 2020.

European Higher Education Reforms

The 2009 Finnish reform package is emblematic of the European trend towards the neoliberal NPM agenda. As an outgrowth of Margaret Thatcher's neoliberal public management reforms in the 1980s, the NPM model is characterized as market-based reforms (Marginson, 1997), mirroring academic capitalism practices. The EU and other supranational organizations (OECD, European University Association [EUA], etc.) drive NPM reforms as a way to make the European region a competitive knowledge-based economy. These reform agendas (Bologna Process, Lisbon Agenda, Modernisation Agendas of 2006 and 2011, and Europe 2020) encourage the harmonization of European HE, encourage national HE systems to pursue a diversification of funding, and push for more competitive measures to attract global talent. The competitive discourse and reforms trickle down to the nation states in the region. At the same time, the widening of HE in Europe has led to funding reforms in almost all countries (Jongbloed, et al., 2010). Thus, the introduction and/or increase in tuition fees for international students in Europe has become a trend.

Nordic Higher Education Tuition Reforms

The five countries in the Nordic region (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) have similar HE systems due to the strong Nordic welfare values upheld in each country (Kalpazidou Schmidt, 2011). However, two of these countries have recently embraced NPM reforms to intersect their HE systems with the new economy. Denmark began collecting tuition fees from international students in 2006 and Sweden followed in 2010. Both countries experienced significant decreases in the number of international students enrolling in their universities after the introduction of fees. For instance, Sweden experienced a 58% decline in non-EU student enrollment in IDMPs in 2010/2011 (Myklebust, 2011). While Finland benchmarks from its Nordic neighbors, Finland has chosen a unique way to approach the introduction of tuition fees through a five-year pilot program. Norway and Iceland remain the only two Nordic countries without tuition fees in the public sector of HE.

Theoretical Framework

Two theoretical frameworks are employed to help understand the crossroads of social movements, market-orientation, and organizational change as actors in the Finnish HE system jockey for position on the issue of tuition fees. The theory of strategic action fields (SAF) explains how collective actors create social structures in meso-level organizations (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; 2012). Specifically, this theory serves as a framework to analyze how actors in the Finnish HE field defend the stability of existing institutional arrangements or enact social change. In the Finnish HE system the incumbents seek to maintain and protect the status quo of a tuition-free HE system, while the challengers aim to alter the social order by introducing tuition fees for international students. Actors use resources, social skills, and opportunities that emerge in the field to gain position. The theory does not limit the change process to the actors in a self-contained field with specific boundaries; rather the framework takes into consideration influences from the wider field environment. In Finland’s case, the theory reveals how forces from outside the country, such as the European HE harmonization project and EU and Nordic country HE reform agendas influence the change processes in Finnish HE.

Nested within the SAF framework, the theory of academic capitalism illustrates how universities and HE actors intersect with markets, often attaching a price to something that was previously free of charge or increasing the price of formerly low cost products (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The theory speaks to how universities and HE actors organize as the neoliberal agenda creates new opportunity structures allowing segments of university actors to embrace and move towards market activities. In this study, the challengers in the SAF promote market-orientation through the introduction of tuition fees, whereas the incumbents resist academic capitalism practices and struggle to maintain the public good and educational equality of HE in Finland. The market-based reforms in the 2009 University Act illustrate how challengers are gaining position in the field, thus creating an opening for academic capitalism. First, academic capitalism serves to explicate this moment of change in Finland's historical entrance into the international fee-paying HE market. Second, the theory draws on Weber, Marx, Foucault, and other critical theorists as a way to examine the power and knowledge phenomenon in HE, thus allowing voices of resistance to surface. Third, applying the academic capitalism frame to the Finnish case illuminates the emergence of an institutional hierarchy, hence questioning the basic Nordic value of equality as new divides and exclusions arise. Thus, in this study we would expect universities, and the HE actors within, seeking "world class" status to aggressively pursue market opportunities.

Research Design

Research Questions

This study aims to understand how a traditionally tuition-free HE system has shifted to experiment with the collection of tuition fees from international students. The first research question explores the history leading up to this shift in perspective as the SAF framework helps to introduce and identify collective actors in the field. The second research question examines the discursive formation used by the collective actors to recruit and influence others to join and/or support their position in the SAF. The rationales for and against tuition fees are described and analyzed as either promoting or resisting the ascendant academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime. The final research question analyzes how two HEIs responded differently to the tuition pilot program. Considering institutional type helps to understand the differential response.

Methods Overview

A qualitative research design is employed that is both descriptive and analytical in nature. Two Finnish universities are selected as case sites for a multiple case study approach. Qualitative interviews from 25 respondents provide rich and detailed interpretations of the evolution of the tuition pilot program in Finland. The purposeful sample includes individuals at the national level, university administration, academic staff (professors), university staff, and representatives of the student union. Documents serve as secondary data to ensure triangulation. Policy documents, surveys, and reports were collected from the supranational, institutional, and actors' levels. In addition, newspaper and academic articles were employed to further triangulate data. Interviews and documents were analyzed using an opening coding method, wherein themes and patterns emerged based on the theory and research questions. Patterns and themes emerging from the interviews were then analyzed and interpreted using the aforementioned theoretical framework.

Significance of Study

This study is important because it contributes to the global body of knowledge on social change, field dynamics, and market-oriented HE, uniquely from the perspective of a Nordic welfare state. The Finnish case can be considered a revelatory case, as it has yet to be researched due to the recency of the 2010 tuition pilot program. This study is also timely; the five-year pilot program was in the second year of implementation when data were collected. Hence, the findings illuminate a novel phenomenon that has yet to be researched in depth.

The aim of this research is not to evaluate the tuition pilot program, but instead to investigate how collective actors in the Finnish HEI system employ tactics to maintain the status quo or enact social change. Using the SAF framework reveals how a stable field, the Finnish HE system, is filled with contention and change as actors resist, embrace, and expand academic capitalism practices. Highlighting one particular reform in the 2009 University Act reform package, the tuition pilot program, allows readers to understand the complexity of the field dynamics in Finland. Since the SAF framework is a recent addition to the theoretical project on fields, this study expands the empirical base of the theoretical development. Embedded with the SAF framework, academic capitalism further explicates the Finnish case as some collective actors promote profit-taking behaviors through the collection of tuition fees. The theory of academic capitalism has been used to illustrate how HE systems, such as those in the U.S and the U.K., intersect with the market leading to stratification and fragmentation. Only a few studies, however, have used the academic capitalism framework to explain the gradual transition towards market and market-like activities in Finland (Ylijoki, 2003; Kauppinen & Kaidesoja, forthcoming). The findings in this study add to the empirical body of knowledge in Finland by examining how the social dynamics of a Nordic welfare state, based on universalism and equality, are influenced by academic capitalism practices.

Overall, this research provides important findings for various stakeholders in making decisions and planning for the future direction of university reform and internationalization efforts in Finland. In addition, this study opens a door to future studies as the traditional Nordic welfare model of HE is influenced by market-based reforms.

Overview of Dissertation

The study is organized into seven chapters. This chapter begins by introducing the background and gives a general overview of the study. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework that guides this study. The conceptual frame is followed by relevant literature highlighting tuition fees in Europe, the Nordic Region, and Finland. Chapter 3 focuses on the research design and introduces the research questions, method, site selection, sample, and mode of data analysis. The strategy of inquiry employed and researcher positionality are also discussed in this chapter. The next three chapters follow three research questions as findings and analysis are presented. Chapter 4 asks why Finland has introduced a tuition pilot program. As a 20-year history leading up to the pilot program is described, collective actors influential in the field emerge. This chapter introduces the collective actors that are instrumental in either resisting or driving tuition fees into a national policy instrument. Chapter 5 asks what rationales the collective actors use to support and galvanize others to join their movement either for or against tuition fees. Chapter 6 asks how two Finnish universities respond to the opportunity to collect tuition fees for international students. The differential responses are then analyzed linking theory to the findings. Chapter 7 concludes the study and returns to the research questions by providing a summary of findings. This chapter also discusses policy implications related to the findings.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter contextualizes the study by introducing the theoretical framework, environmental influences, and the background of the Finnish higher education (HE) system. First, the chapter introduces two theories which are used to analyze the findings, allowing for a better understanding of the phenomena. The theory of strategic action fields (SAF) (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; 2012) explains how collective action creates societal order and structures. In this study SAF is employed to analyze how some HE actors seek to enact social change while others defend the stability of existing institutional arrangements in the field of HE. Nested within the HE SAF, academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) illustrates how universities shift towards market-oriented structures and practices. Together, these two theories tease out understandings of Finland's historical move to collect tuition fees from international students as collective strategic actors advocate for and resist the move towards the academic capitalism regime.

The theoretical framework is then used to analyze the context of the broader field environment. As a Member Country in the European Union (EU), Finland is greatly influenced by European trends and initiatives within the region. Tuition fees are part of a new European-wide reform agenda to modernize European universities. The shift in HE funding in Europe is discussed, focusing on the cost sharing philosophy. To understand this shift in funding philosophy, it is important to consider the demand for European HE reform and how it has gained momentum in the past couple of decades. This point of departure lays groundwork for the broader field environment that influences the Finnish HE system. Not only is Finland a part of the wider European community, but it is also a member of the Nordic countries; therefore, both European and Nordic funding trends and policy influences are considered. Finally, the context of the tuition pilot program in Finland is highlighted, including a brief overview of the HE system and the history and provisions of the recent reforms.

Theoretical Framework

In an effort to apply the theory of SAFs to the tuition fee movement in Finland, the field environment is defined and the accompanying theory of academic capitalism is introduced. The SAF conceptual framework elucidates how collective actors in Finland and the broader field environment resist or support tuition fees, thus influencing the creation of the tuition pilot program. Once a taboo topic, the idea of tuition has now evolved into an often discussed and debated policy instrument in Finland. Fligstein & McAdam explain, “What distinguishes a particular field is that something is at stake and that the actors in the field are striving to control it” (2012, p. 27). The field environment in this study is the wider Finnish HE system and the actors within the field that attempt to control the introduction of tuition. It was considered to be a “stable field” because key actors, sustaining the status quo, reproduced themselves over a long period of time (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). However, in the last two decades a combination of both domestic and European change processes have created an opening for the New Public Management (NPM) agenda facilitating market-oriented HE reforms. Since national policy is still only experimenting with the idea of tuition fees through the 2010 pilot program, this is an opportune time to analyze the field environment and the movements for and against the introduction of tuition fees.

Academic capitalism reveals how universities intersect with markets, often attaching a price to something that was previously free of charge or increasing the price of formerly low-cost products (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The theory of academic capitalism is nested within the SAF, in that academic capitalism theorizes a public good knowledge/learning regime under pressure from a market regime. In Finland, using SAF as a broader frame, the incumbents are defending what they see as a public good knowledge/learning regime that rejects tuition and related marketization, while the challengers are attempting to introduce tuition and an array of market reforms. Although the theoretical development of academic capitalism was formulated before the development of SAF, in this case study academic capitalism helps illustrate the more abstract nature of SAF. Specific to the Finnish HE SAF and this particular study, academic capitalism offers a framework to analyze the shift from a public good knowledge/learning regime to an academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime.

Strategic Action Fields

SAFs work to change or stabilize social phenomena. This theory is at the crossroads of social movement studies and organizational theory: "As scholars who studied organizations tried to understand better the process of organizational emergence and change and the role of actors in making those changes, they turned to social movement studies where scholars were studying how relatively powerless actors came to mobilize and organize fields" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, p. 1). SAF theory uses insights from social movement theory, organizational theory (political science), economic and political sociology. The authors point out three theories closest to the SAF theory development: new institutional theory, Gidden's theory of structuration, and Bourdieu's habitus, field, and various forms of capital (economic, social, and cultural). While Fligstein and McAdam (2012) borrow from these theories, the authors argue that all three theories are inadequate to explicate "the underlying structure of, and sources of change and stability in, institutional life in modern society" (p. 8). The authors bring many new elements to this theoretical project including the contentious nature of fields, continuous change pressure, and the introduction of internal government units.

Fligstein & McAdam (2011; 2012) conceptualize SAFs as fluid, socially constructed, fundamental units of collective action in society at the meso-level social order that are embedded in a broader field environment. The SAFs become a space in organizations where collective actors struggle for what is at stake. In the tuition fee movement in Finland, while there is a collective group of actors driving the introduction of tuition fees, there is also a strong movement against tuition fees. It is within the SAF that incumbents, challengers, and governance units operate to change or stabilize the status quo:

- Incumbents: actors with influence (their views are dominant in the organization)
- Challengers: actors with alternative vision to dominant logic, yet wield little influence
- Governance units: oversee compliance and functioning in field (internal to field—not external state structures)

Thus, this theory serves to unpack and identify the people who mobilize into collective groups that contest and/or advocate this move towards the market. The incumbents in this study are those actors who resist academic capitalism and oppose moving HE towards the market. They contest the transformation of knowledge into a commodity, the university into a business, and the student into a consumer. They believe that there is an alternative model to the market model of HE and value the public good of HE and the essence of educational equality for all, a cornerstone of the welfare state philosophy. On the other hand, the challengers advocate for the market-orientation of HE and generally advocate for NPM reforms. They believe that the only way to financially sustain HE is to diversify funding and bring in external revenue by moving HE closer to a commodity status. They embody neoliberal values favoring free markets, free trade, and hold competition as a primary virtue (Harvey, 2005). They use the power they hold to create state and non-state neoliberal structures to allow HE entrepreneurs to pursue market and market-like activities. The governance units are those actors internal to the HE field who ensure structures and programs are implemented properly. While some may have personal leanings towards the incumbents or challengers, their main role in the SAF is to ensure field functionality. They are knowledgeable of both positions and placate incumbents and challengers. However, their knowledge of and connection with the broader field environment, especially the European supranational influences, often aligns them with the challengers' movement.

Strategic actors in the field share common understandings about the SAF, yet they also possess individual social skills that help them mobilize others. SAFs operate with four essential categories of shared understanding among actors that facilitate field-level interaction:

> 1.) Actors possess a general understanding and consensus as to what is going on in the field.
> 2.) Actors within the field can be viewed as having more or less power depending on their role in the field. In SAFs actors are constantly jockeying for positions of power.
> 3.) There are shared cultural understandings about the "rules" in the field and possible tactics that may be "possible, legitimate, and interpretable". At the same time, all meanings in a SAF can be broken down and redefined, including the rules in the field.
> 4.) An interpretive frame, based upon the actor's role in the field, helps actors make sense of what others are doing in the field.

As collective actors employ strategic action they use cognitive "social skills" to read other people and situations in the field, galvanize others, and fashion and encourage action (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 17). Of course, where actors are positioned in the field signifies how they use their skills. The social skills of actors in the Finnish HE SAF are further analyzed in chapter five as the discursive formation of incumbents and challengers' rationales supporting their position are presented.

Fligstein and McAdam view the boundaries of SAFs unfixed; fields are constructed depending on different situations and groups of actors moving in and out of the SAFs as significant issues and concerns are defined. The SAF theory posits fields in constant flux, as SAFs move back and forth on a continuum defining and redefining debates and challenges to the status quo. In this sense, the Finnish HE field is continuously changing as actors enter and leave the SAF and the tuition fee issue is one of many issues challenging the status quo.

The SAF theory suggests that social change and conflict in a given field is much broader than just the actors within the chosen field. In this case, proximate fields in the broader field environment, such as the European supranational organization and other European and Nordic countries, influence the change processes in Finnish HE. The SAF theory considers all fields as embedded in broader field environments, not as self-contained units with specific boundaries. These broader field environments are explained in three binary relationships:

> 1.) Proximate vs. distant: proximate fields are those that have frequent ties and whose actions influence a given field. Distant fields lack ties and rarely influence the field in question.
> 2.) Vertical vs. horizontal: A vertical field has formal authority over a given field, whereas a horizontal field depends on another linked field, but does not yield authority over that given field.
> 3.) State vs. nonstate: State fields have the ability to intervene and set rules on most nonstate fields, thus giving state fields the potential to impact the stability of SAFs.

To better understand the phenomena in a holistic manner, the SAF theory considers the consequential ties and interdependence of the broader field environments.

Academic Capitalism

The concept of academic capitalism goes back to the early 20th century when Max Weber (1918) wrote about German universities and described medicine and natural sciences as “State Capitalist” enterprises. This idea was revisited as Hackett (1990) used the concept of academic capitalism to explain the structural changes in the academic sciences. Drawing upon Weber and

Hackett's rendition of academic capitalism, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) explored how the professional academic staff pursued market and market-like behaviors in four countries: Canada, United States, United Kingdom, and Australia. In 2004, Slaughter and Rhoades further developed the theory of academic capitalism focusing on the U.S. HE system and how (because of a neoliberal political climate) boundaries between the government, market, and HE were becoming increasingly blurry and for-profit behaviors became embedded within higher education institutions (HEIs). While most of the theory application originated outside of Europe, Slaughter & Cantwell (2012) argue that the academic capitalist regime also exists in Europe; however, the path to bring HE closer to the market in Europe is different than the path taken in the U.S. Academic capitalism first emerged in the U.S. through the exploitation of regulatory openings and policy shifts that privileged competitiveness by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and universities. On the other hand, European academic capitalism has developed rapidly as state-led competitive measures have been embedded into HE through public policy reforms, in particular through the NPM agenda. The five main NPM reform trends in Europe include:

> 1.) Market-based reforms propagating competition among HEIs, staff, students, and territories.
> 2.) Budget constraints that have led to allocated budgets based on indicators and outputs rather than inputs.
> 3.) Budgetary reforms have that resulted in more emphasis on teaching and research assessment and performance measurements.
> 4.) There has been more attention and concentration of funding given to the best performing HEIs resulting in greater vertical differentiation.
> 5.) Institutional governance has changed to strengthen executive leadership and develop university administrators into managerial staff, and the academic community becomes university staff (Ferlie, et al., 2008, pp. 335-336).

NPM reforms have become a chosen path for many European HE systems, including Finland.

Given that Finnish policy makers include tuition fees in part of the wider funding reform, academic capitalism helps to make sense of this moment of change in Finland's historical entrance into the international fees-paying HE market. Specifically, the theory considers: *new circuits of knowledge*, emergence of *interstitial organizations*, formation or expansion of *intermediating organizations*, growth of *administration*, new *funding patterns*, and the promotion of market-orientation through *discourse*. This study particularly focuses on the changing discourse in the Finnish SAF, new funding patterns, and the development of interstitial organizations. In addition, this study uses academic capitalism theory to tease out the differential effects and implications of HE marketization as not every actor or organization possesses the competencies, know-how, and/or resources to compete in the marketplace, thus resulting in segmentation, fragmentation, and stratification.

Broader Field Environment

Both SAF and academic capitalism venture into the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis. Friedland and Alford (1991) claim that there is a theoretical retreat from the societal context, wherein the context of society is simply reduced to abstract and otherwise undefined organizational field environments. Fligstein & McAdam (2012) claim it is essential to consider the constraints and opportunities imposed by the interwoven connections to the broader field environment. At the organizational level, academic capitalism has been used to explain how HEIs and organizations within them integrate into the "new economy"; a central tenet of the theory considers the rapidly changing nature of HE by considering the political-economy in which HE is situated. Friedland and Alford (1991) argue that a robust social theory analyses the phenomenon at three levels:

1.) Individual level: actors compete and negotiate.
2.) Organizational level: as they compete and coordinate.
3.) Institutional level: considers the contradictions and interdependencies.

With the changing political-economy and HE playing a central role in society's economic development, the relationship among society, market, government, and universities continues to transform (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Thus, these two theories allow for a wider analysis of the contradictions and interdependencies between society, market, government and universities.

While it is essential to understand how actors and HEIs are responding in the case study of the Finnish tuition fee pilot program, it is also important to consider how the broader environment of the European region impacts the SAF. In many cases, Finland is known to be among the first responders when national educational policy reforms are suggested by the EU. Ahola & Mesikämmen (2003) describe this national behavior as Finland wanting to be at the "top of the class in Europe." The narrative among Finnish people is that Finland is a "good pupil" in the EU, especially when it comes to following rules, doing things well and honestly, and being among the first to respond to suggested reforms (J. Välimaa, personal communication, Nov. 9, 2012).

This next section considers first the European HE funding and tuition reforms and then moves to the wider European HE reforms. Then, the Nordic region is highlighted with special emphasis on two Nordic countries that are shifting towards more market-oriented practices. Throughout this section the regional incumbents and challengers are identified.

European Higher Education: Funding and Tuition Reforms

European HE systems have expanded in the volume of enrolled students. According to Trow (2005) there are a few ways to look at the expansion of HE in Europe. First, there is the rate of growth; in many Western European countries "the numbers of students in higher education doubled within five-year periods during the decade of the sixties and doubled again in seven, eight, or ten years by the middle of the 1970s" (Trow, 2005, p. 2). Second, the proportion of relevant age groups enrolled in HE increased in many European countries after World War II. Just after the war the rates were approximately 4-5 percent; 25 years later the rates increased to 10-20 percent, and in 2000 the rates were roughly 30 percent and continuing to increase.

The expansion of HE in Europe has resulted in "budgetary pressures" leading to funding reforms in almost all countries (Jongbloed, et al., 2010). Many of these reforms include the introduction of or increase in international student tuition fees (Estermann & Bennetot Pruvot, 2011). In the last decade, many European nation states have passed legislation to differentiate tuition fees for non-EU students and English language courses (e.g. Austria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, Netherlands, and Sweden, etc.) [Study in Europe.eu, 2012]. Some of these differential tuition fees for non-EU students are expected to cover the full cost of the degree (Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden). At the same time, other countries have passed legislation to introduce tuition fees for all students. For example, some German Länders (states) introduced tuition fees in the amount of EU €500/semester in 2006 and a few states have since abolished them (Study in Germany, 2012). In France, minimal tuition fees (EU €186-255) are collected in the public universities, but some universities are following a new trend to add (in addition to the tuition fees) "supplementary fees" dependent on HEI and field of study (EU €10-2,000) (Marcucci & Usher, 2012). Most of these tuition changes come with financial aid reforms in the form of student loans and scholarships. For some European countries the increase in tuition fees coincides with austerity measures (Italy, Netherlands, Spain and U.K.). For other countries, such as Sweden, a competitive discourse underlies the introduction of tuition fees; "Global competition for talent is increasing sharply and the government wants Swedish universities to compete on equal terms with universities in other countries" (Study in Sweden, 2010). European attitudes about tuition fee policies continue to change and evolve, and in a number of countries policies are moving in different directions (European University Association, 2012c). However, looking back at the European tuition policies at the turn of the century and comparing them to the current policies, there is a growing trend towards the increase and/or introduction of tuition fees emblematic of academic capitalism activities.

The move to introduce tuition fees has been called "cost sharing" wherein the burden of HE costs is shared between students, parents, government, and taxpayers (Johnstone 1986; 2004; 2006; Marcucci & Johnstone 2007). The term *cost sharing* is broad and refers to shifting HE costs to students in general; however, the authors do not make a distinction between local or international students. According to Johnstone & Marcucci (2010, pp. 64-65) there are seven different forms of cost sharing:

1.) Introduction of tuition fees into a HE system that was tuition-free.
2.) Introduction of a dual track tuition system wherein one population pays tuition and another population benefits from a free or low-cost HE that remains state-supported.
3.) Increase in tuition fees in a system where tuition already exists.
4.) Imposition of user charges to recover the expenses of formerly subsidized food and accommodations.
5.) The reduction in student grants, scholarships, and/or stipends.
6.) Increase in the effective recovery of student loans (e.g. rise in interest rates).
7.) Encouragement of a tuition-dependent private HE sector.

For the sake of this study, the second form of cost sharing best explains the situation in Finland as the tuition pilot program only applies to a select population of students, non-EU[3]/EEA[4] degree seeking students who are enrolled in particular international degree masters' programs (IDMPs). In Continental Europe, there has traditionally been a non-discrimination policy between

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[3] The EU 27 Member States include: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and United Kingdom.

[4] EEA Member States include: all EU 27 Member States and Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Although Switzerland is not a member of the EU or the EEA, in 2002 Swiss nationals were granted the same rights as EU and EEA members.

international (non-EU/EEA) and local (national residents and EU/EEA) student tuition fees, as international, EU/EEA, and local students were treated the same when it came to tuition fees. However, in the early 1980s, the U.K. began charging differential tuition fees for international students (non-EU/EEA) and since then other European countries have followed suit. There is an emerging trend to create dual track tuition fees (Estermann & Bennetot Pruvot, 2011); in recent years the Netherlands, Slovakia, and Ireland (to name a few) have introduced international student tuition fees (de Wit, 2010). It is also important to note where EU/EEA students fit into the larger discussion of differentiated student fees in Europe. Since 1988, EU/EEA students have been granted the same rights/obligations as local students concerning tuition loans and grant policies (European Commission, 2010a)[5]; thus, EU/EEA students are treated as local students when it comes to paying tuition fees.

The literature and policy documents on European funding reforms do not always differentiate between tuition fees for international students versus local students. For this reason, the policy documents and literature presented in this section attend to influences, discourse, and narratives advocating for tuition fees in general, not just for international students.

In Europe, there is a wide variety of cost sharing policies and considerable diversity as to whether tuition fees are up front or deferred (Johnstone & Marcucci, 2010). Jongbloed, et al. (2010) studied the funding reforms in 33 European HE systems, assessing the implementation, performance, and impact of the reforms. They state, “Reforms are based on the belief that the level, composition, and method of funding matter when it comes to the performance of higher

[5] In June 1988, the European Court of Justice ruled in favor (in two cases) of the principle of nondiscrimination for EU students concerning state assistance provided for the access of education. In Brown v Secretary of State for Scotland (197/86), a French student was refused the local student “allowance” (tuition payment by State). Sylvie Lair v Universität Hannover (Case 39/86) also a French student, was refused the local student ”allowance” in Germany.

education systems" (p. 9). The findings of this study suggest that funding policies, and a high level of HEI autonomy, impact some areas of HE performance (e.g. number of graduates, tuition fees, and articles published) and at the same time have no impact on other HE performance areas (e.g. access and employability). In 2008 data collection revealed that 18 countries did not collect tuition fees, seven collected moderate fees, and eight charged over EU €500 per year. Since the economic crisis in 2008, the idea of cost sharing in European countries has continued to evolve (Estermann & Bennetot Pruvot, 2011) in tandem with NPM funding reforms. For example, at a time when state funding for HE was decreasing, a new UK law passed in December 2010 that pushed the maximum tuition cap up to GBP £9000 (EU €11,139) per academic year (U.K. Parliament, 2010). In this case, tuition fee reforms were associated with an overall reduction in state funding. However, in other European countries where tuition reforms have occurred, guarantees have been made to continue state funding at the current level and use additional income to improve student services (Estermann & Bennetot Pruvot, 2011).

In the European region, there are incumbents who resist the tuition trend and there are also challengers who advocate for cost sharing. For example, a group of widely cited HE scholars were commissioned by the European Commission (EC) Directorate General for Education and Culture to study the funding reforms in European countries. The group of researchers, categorized as challengers, offered the following policy recommendation concerning tuition fees:

> To shape the funding of higher education, cost sharing between the state and students should be the leading principle. Public subsidies should continue to be provided for higher education, regardless of the sector of provision (public or private). Students should be expected to pay a tuition fee, where the fee level is regulated to ensure cost containment and moderation (Jongbloed, et al, 2010, p. 11).

Discourse advocating for tuition fees promotes an academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime. In the search for external revenue sources, HEIs often turn to student tuition (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

On the other hand, there are also concerns about and resistance to introducing or increasing tuition fees in European countries. The European Students' Union (ESU) represents 45 National Unions of Students (NUS) from 38 countries and aims to "represent and promote the educational, social, economic and cultural interests of students at the European level towards all relevant bodies and in particular the European Union, Bologna Follow Up Group, Council of Europe and UNESCO" (European Students' Union, 2012a). The collective actors in this regional organization are incumbents, as they work hard to sustain accessibility of HE through the national financing of HE. Their 60th annual board meeting in May 2011 included a four-day conference on "Financing of Higher Education-Financing the Future of Students" where student representatives discussed tuition fees in light of recent funding reforms in European countries: "While universities across Europe are contemplating or have already set higher tuition fees, ESU addressed how this development can be tackled, as increasing tuition fees and study costs are restricting the accessibility of higher education" (European Students' Union, 2012b). ESU launched a two-year project (2011-12), *Financing the Students' Future,* (financed by the Life Long Learning programme of the ECs Education, Audiovisual & Culture Executive Agency) with the slogan, "More money for education" with the aim of "defending education as a public good and a public responsibility." The project objective is to collect data on the different HE funding systems as a way to "change the European agenda to its demands" (European Students' Union, 2012c). The ESU works with NSUs to help build movements against national HE reforms aimed at introducing or increasing tuition fees.

As many European countries move to collect tuition fees, debates ensue around the benefits, risks, and general philosophies of charging tuition fees. The rationales for and against tuition fees have been a topic of research over the last few decades. Since 1999, Marcucci & Johnstone have researched the rise of tuition around the world by way of the International Comparative Higher Education and Finance Project. Their research takes into account the rationales for and against tuition fees for domestic students. The rationales AGAINST tuition fees include:

- The returns to society from an educated population are very high.
- Education is (or should be) a fundamental right.
- Tuition fees may discourage the participation of students from low-income families, rural areas or ethnic minorities with negative impacts in terms of social equality and social benefits.
- The costs of student maintenance are high and already beyond the reach of many families especially when coupled with the costs of foregone student earnings (Marcucci & Johnstone, 2007, p. 2).

The rationales FOR tuition fees include:

- Private returns to HE (higher lifetime earnings, enhanced status, etc.) are substantial (and probably extend as well to parents of students).
- Free HE is still enjoyed disproportionately by the children of middle and upper classes, while the costs tend, in most countries, to be paid for by taxes that are at best proportional and frequently regressive. Thus, most economists view totally free higher education--especially to the extent that most parents would willingly pay a fee if one were levied, and even more so if there are means-tested grants for those unable to pay--to be effectively a redistribution of income from the poor to the wealthy.
- Students and families who pay tuition fees will demand accountability; therefore, universities will have to be more consumer-oriented and efficient.
- The costs of HE– with per-student costs rising at rates in excess of inflation, magnified by increasing enrollments – are calling for extremely high annual increases in revenue. However, the increased difficulty of taxation, especially in low income and transitional countries, plus increasing competition from other compelling public needs such as health care and primary education, make increased tax revenues to HE doubtful at best (Marcucci & Johnstone, 2007, p. 3).

The rationales presented above, however, do not take into account the justifications for collecting tuition fees from international students only, which is the case in Finland. Cost sharing rationales differ from country to country and are made “unclear by the complex and contested ideologies that frequently—especially on the part of political actors—obscure the motives for shifting costs" (Johnstone & Marcucci, 2010, p. 69). Thus, there is a need to understand the underlying motives of the Finnish tuition pilot project which are further explored in Chapter 5.

In addition, the aforementioned rationales do not fully explain the Finnish case because the idea of cost sharing assumes market rationality. A market is not necessarily a rational social space. The rational actor paradigm assumes that actors weigh the costs and benefits of a choice before deciding on an option that maximizes self-interest. The authors of academic capitalism disagree with the rational actor approach, as there are multiple rationalities and constraints to consider. In HE, state subsidies provide opportunities for market-oriented behavior, actors are limited as they are restricted to the criteria set forth by the state (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

European Higher Education Reform

There are three regional organizations involved in the European HE reform agenda process that are influential for the SAF. While each organization holds its own agenda, they are all challengers encouraging reforms and practices that support an academic capitalism regime. First, the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 created the EU, an economic and political supranational body with the aim of constructing a single European market. Finland joined the EU in 1995. In August 2012, there were 27 member countries and six candidate countries (European Union, 2012). Although there are three governmental branches involved in EU legislation (Parliament, Council, and Commission), the EC creates and implements the EU policies. Thus, most of the policy initiatives associated with the regional reform agenda for HE come from the EC. Second, the European HE Area (EHEA) originated from the Bologna Process in 1999; as of August 2012 it consists of 47 Member Countries. The EHEA is a voluntary inter-governmental polity led by Member Country Education Ministers. Third, the European University Association (EUA) was created in 2001 when the Association of European Universities (CRE) and the Confederation of EU Rectors Conferences merged together; it now represents and supports HEIs in 47 European countries. EUA's mission "as the voice of Europe's universities is to influence the outcomes of European level policy debates on issues that will have an impact both at national level on the work of national university associations and for the association's individual member universities" (European University Association, 2012a).

In this section, the context of the European-wide reform agenda is considered, as it serves as the backdrop to the 2009 reform agenda in Finland. The reforms advocate for a single European market (free trade of goods, knowledge, and people) and specifically for the injection of NPM market-based competitive measures in HE. Since the late 1990s, regional European initiatives in HE have both influenced and served as the impetus for national reforms. In Europe, there is a search for a new pact, "a cultural commitment," between the institution of HE, government, and the society at large (Gornitzka, et al., 2007). This is evidenced by reform agendas taking place at the European intergovernmental level as well as at the supranational level (EU): the Bologna Process, Lisbon Agenda, Modernisation Agendas of 2006 and 2011, and Europe 2020. Within these policy documents, European universities face demand for "urgent and radical reform" resulting in new organizational paradigms associated with governance and funding structures (Olsen & Maassen, 2007, p. 3).

In 1998, Education Ministers from the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Italy signed the *Sorbonne Declaration* signifying the beginning of a bottom-up strategy by Member States to advance HE harmonization within the European region, pledging, "We hereby commit ourselves to encouraging a common frame of reference, aimed at improving external recognition and facilitating student mobility as well as employability" (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998). This led to the *Bologna Declaration* in 1999, signed by 29 Member States voluntarily pledging to reform their national HE systems as a way to converge and harmonize European HE systems. The aim of the Bologna Declaration was to create an EHEA that would make European HE "more compatible and comparable," as well as "more competitive and more attractive" (European Commission, 2012a). Specifically, the Bologna Process galvanized European HE systems to cooperate on comparable degree structures, European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), and quality assurance. Two organizations representing the leadership of European Universities (the Confederation of EU Rectors' Conferences and the Association of European Universities [CRE]) touted the Bologna Process as providing "one more reason for moving in the direction of a coherent European system and implicitly invit[ing] European institutions to compete more resolutely than in the past for students, influence, prestige and money in the worldwide competition of universities" (Association of European Universities, 2000). While the Bologna Process does not endorse tuition fees specifically, more generally it is the regional reform process that changed the European landscape of HE as well as opened the doors for the EC to use it as a policy tool to launch parallel European HE reforms (Välimaa, 2011). While the Bologna Process began independent of the EC, as a "countermove to EU and external structures," it has become more dependent on the ECs corresponding reform agenda (Olsen & Maasen, 2007, p. 10).

Following the Bologna Process, the EU Heads of States and Governments in 2000 committed to the *Lisbon Agenda* including far-reaching strategies to make the EU the "most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world" by 2010. This was a turning point for EU involvement in European HE because, "for the first time, education was considered a key factor in the implementation of the EU economic and social objectives set for 2010"

(Pepin, 2007, p. 121). The main aim of the Lisbon Agenda was to make EU competitive with other leading economies such as the U.S. and Japan. To achieve this aim the EU recognized HEIs as the drivers of knowledge creation. Thus, the EU advocated for the modernization of HEIs and increased knowledge, which the EU defined as the pre-condition for economic development (Välimaa, 2011). Even though the mid-term review of the Lisbon Strategy in 2004 was met with criticism (Kok, 2004), the European Council re-launched it in 2005.

In 2006, the EC published the first *Modernisation Agenda* for European HEIs. In this document, the EC contextualized European HEIs as lagging behind when compared to HEIs in other leading knowledge economies: "[European Universities] are behind in the increased international competition for talented academics and students, and miss out on fast changing research agendas and on generating the critical mass, excellence and flexibility necessary to succeed" (European Commission, 2006, p. 4). The Modernisation Agenda served as a direct call to national governments to reform their HE systems and provided nine suggested competitive reforms including increased autonomy, accountability, partnerships with industry, and rewarding excellence. One of the suggested reforms, to "Reduce the funding gap and make funding work more effectively in education and research," suggested that Member Countries "critically examine their current mix of student fees and support schemes" (p. 7). While the word "tuition" did not appear in the document, the suggested reforms encouraged Member Countries to take into account student fees (tuition) and support schemes (loans and scholarships) as a way to ensure efficiency and equal access. The last suggested reform in this document specifically spoke to the competition for international students by making the EHEA "more visible and attractive in the world" (p. 9). The EC suggested more bilateral/multilateral agreements with non-EU HEI partners encouraging "brain circulation," simplifying the legal and administrative barriers, and ensuring academic recognition of European credentials. In these two policy documents (Lisbon Agenda and the Modernisation Agenda) the competitive narrative became prevalent. Naidoo (2011) refers to this as "magical thinking" and calls it a "competition fetish" in the HE sector. As nations and HEIs propagate and pursue competitive initiatives, policies are enacted to "promote, control, and maximize returns from market forces in international settings while abandoning some of the core discourses and functions of the welfare state" (Naidoo, 2011, p. 3).

The expiration of the Lisbon Agenda came in 2010 and it was clear at this time that the objectives were not achieved and the EU fell short in becoming the world's most innovative region. But well before the conclusion of the Lisbon Agenda, the EC began crafting the *Europe 2020 Growth Strategy* (European Commission, 2010b). Published in 2010, Europe 2020 laid out specific targets related to "smart, sustainable and inclusive growth" such as 3% of EU's GDP invested in R&D. Much like the Lisbon Agenda, Europe 2020 stressed the importance of European universities in the overall economic development strategy in the EU. While the Modernisation Agenda 2011 was a continuation of the Modernisation Agenda in 2006, it emphasized five major areas of reform:

1.) increasing HE attainment rates,
2.) providing skills and competencies for the labor market,
3.) increasing student and researcher mobility in Europe (both European and non-EU)
4.) increasing interaction between HE, research, and industry, and
5.) improving governance and funding (European Commission, 2011a).

In the 2011 Modernisation Agenda the EC also promoted the importance of attracting international students and diversifying HEI funding. As part of the aim to increase HE attainment rates, the EC declares that:

> Attracting the best students, academics and researchers from outside the EU and developing new forms of cross-border cooperation are key drivers of quality. They can also be important sources of income for institutions. Although some Member States are a

> very attractive study destination, the EU as a whole needs to attract the best students and researchers if it is to compete with the US (European Commission, 2011a, pp. 6-7).

While the narrative in the Modernisation Agenda pushes for more competitive measures to attract the best international students, it also recognizes international students as an additional source of revenue.

Throughout the mid to late 2000s the funding reform discourse in Europe evolved into a "diversification of funding" mantra. In 2009, the EUA developed the European University Diversifying Income Streams (EUDIS) project, co-funded by the EC. This project was part of a larger EUA reform agenda, which began in 2008, to make European universities "financially sustainable":

> The financial sustainability of Europe's universities is of crucial importance to the future of the European knowledge-based society and, therefore, to the European University Association. As an independent voice of Europe's universities in Brussels, EUA attaches highest priority to this issue as an essential requirement for Europe's universities to meet the challenge of the "Modernisation Agenda" for universities under discussion with governments at both the national and European level.
> (European University Association, 2008, p. 4).

The rationale of the EUDIS project states, "institutions need to adopt more business-like perspectives in pursuing alternative income streams" (European University Association, 2012b). The project aimed to consider best practices and possible challenges of income diversification to serve as "operational assistance" as European HEIs "identify alternative and innovative funding possibilities" (European University Association, 2012b). This project encouraged HEIs to become entrepreneurs and develop strategies to pursue opportunities presented by the academic capitalism regime such as tuition, business contracts, philanthropic funding, and service-related income.

The EC explicitly addressed this trend in the 2011Modernisation Agenda; "They [Member States] are looking to diversify funding sources, using public investment to lever funds from elsewhere and drawing to a larger extent on private funding; tuition fees are becoming more widespread, particularly at masters level and above" (European Commission, 2011a, p. 9). The narrative in the document advocates for "access to alternative sources of funding, including using public funds to leverage private and other public investment" (European Commission, 2011a, p. 9).

All of these prescribed reforms trickle down to the national level in light of the taken-for-granted project to "harmonize" European HE. The European reform agenda advocates a language that is universal with uniform politics and goals leading to a "new orthodoxy" where a standard set of solutions becomes the default reform package (Ahola & Mesikämmen, 2003). Challengers at the national European level copy, borrow, and adopt reform models that have worked in other countries with the logic that if it works in that country, it will work in other countries. However, as these market-oriented reforms trickle down to the national level, in many cases they are met with resistance as incumbents struggle to maintain the national status quo.

Not only are European nation states adopting the supranational NPM reforms, but they are also actively involved in designing the reforms. In 2001, the Finnish Ministry of Education created a working group to prepare a strategy for education policy cooperation with the EU. The recommended strategy encouraged participation in EU educational policy by suggesting the following priorities: "development of the Finnish education system; the importance of the cultural and edifying role of education in EU-level cooperation; active participation in EU cooperation in matters within its competence with a view to promoting good governance; attention to the cross-sectoral nature of matters; and compliance with the principle of subsidiarity in EU education policy" (Ministry of Education, 2001). For a small country like Finland it is advantageous to be active in European education policy because it opens up the possibility to influence the “course of events” (Ahola & Mesikämmen, 2003, p. 225).

Nordic Higher Education Reform

Europe is often divided into different regions based on geography, history, and culture. The Nordic region consists of five countries located within the Northern European region: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Even though these countries are not homogenous, their allegiance to Nordic welfare values place them in the incumbent category as collective actors in each country seek to maintain these strong values against neoliberal tendencies. The Nordic countries are identified as “welfare states with similarities as to history, social values, culture, political and socio-economic conditions,” thus resulting in analogous HE systems (Kalpazidou Schmidt, 2011, p. 31). Common features of the Nordic welfare states include universalism in social policy (all citizens are offered the same services), redistribution of income, and high taxation rates (Kesonen, 1993). From a political economy perspective, Esping-Anderson (1990) argued that the Nordic countries’ social democratic welfare regime contrasts with the liberal and conservative welfare regimes elsewhere in the world. This “Nordic exceptionalism” can also be applied when discussing the uniqueness of Nordic HE in comparison to other HE systems. For example, the high levels of government funding in the Nordic countries make them stand out when compared to other European and OECD countries. Table 1 demonstrates how the Nordic countries public expenditure on HE exceeds EU21[6] as well as OECD countries averages on public expenditures. This table also shows how the Nordic

[6] The EU-21 comprises EU Member Countries that are also members of the OECD: Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom.

countries are the leaders in the OECD and the EU for public expenditure on HE as a percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP).

Table 1

Total Public Expenditure on Higher Education (2008)[7]

Nordic Countries	Public expenditure on HE as % of total public expenditure	Public expenditure on HE as % of GDP
Denmark	4,2	2,2
Finland	3,9	1,9
Iceland	3,1	1,5
Norway	5,1	2,9
Sweden	3,5	1,8
Comparison Countries & Regions		
U.S.	3,2	1,3
OECD Average	3,0	1,3
EU21 Average	2,7	1,3

(OECD 2011, p. 254).

The Nordic countries also have similar approaches to funding HE through tuition and loans and grants as demonstrated in the OECD taxonomy of funding approaches. When it comes to tuition fees, no Nordic country collects tuition fees from EU or local students (with the exception of some private HEIs in Iceland). In 2011, OECD (2011, pp. 260-263) categorized Member countries into four different funding approaches:

> Model 1: Countries with no or low tuition fees but generous student-support systems (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden)
>
> Model 2: Countries with high levels of tuition fees and well-developed student-support systems (Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States)

[7] Public expenditure presented in this table includes public subsidies to households for living costs (scholarships and grants to students/households and students loans), which are not spent on educational institutions.

Model 3: Countries with high levels of tuition fees but less-developed student-support systems (Japan and Korea)

Model 4: Countries with low levels of tuition fees and less-developed student-support systems (Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland and Spain and Mexico)

Yet, among the incumbent Nordic countries, there are two where the challengers are gaining position. This section describes how Denmark and Sweden were the first two Nordic countries to collect tuition fees; the Finnish tuition pilot program (of which was the third Nordic country to consider tuition fees through the 2010 pilot program) is discussed in the following section. In the past decade the Nordic HE systems have made significant moves towards the market through various reforms including the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU/EEA students. As part of a larger NPM reform agenda, Denmark was the first Nordic country to implement tuition fees for international students. In 2006, the Danish government introduced tuition fees and experienced a significant decrease in the number of new non-EU/EEA students in full degree programs (Myklebust, 2010). While the current tuition fees in Denmark only impact degree students coming from outside Europe, in 2010 the Danish Science Minister fueled the tuition debate by proposing an idea to privatize universities which would subsequently lead to the introduction of tuition fees for all students (Jongsma, 2010). Although this has not come to be, the debate over Danish tuition fees spreading to the local students continues.

In June 2010, Sweden passed a legislation bill, *Competing on the basis of quality - tuition fees for foreign students*, leading to the collection of tuition from non-EU/EEA students in bachelors' and masters' programs in the fall of 2011 (The Local, 2010). In the 2011/12 academic year, in addition to a new mandatory application fee of SEK 900 (EU €104), non-European students paid tuition fees ranging from SEK 80,000 (EU €9,259) and topping out at 245,000 kroner (EU €28,355) per year depending on the university and field of study (Myklebust, 2011).

Since the new fees were implemented Sweden experienced a significant drop in the number of applications in the 2011/12 academic year. International applications for masters' programs decreased by 73%, from 91,800 applicants in 2010/2011 to 25,100 applicants in 2011/2012, thus resulting in a 58% decline in non-European enrollments in international masters' programs (Myklebust, 2011).

Currently, only Iceland and Norway have chosen not to introduce fees in the public sector of HE, despite their Nordic neighbors' move into the fees-paying international student market. In Iceland, public universities do not charge tuition, but private universities are free to collect tuition fees. In the *2009 Economic Survey of Iceland* the OECD strongly recommended Iceland governmental officials charge tuition as part of a larger recession recovery plan (OECD, 2009a). In Norway, the debate on tuition exists, yet no significant decision has been made by politicians to introduce tuition. Despite the European and regional pressures, the incumbent movements in these two countries continue to reproduce and protect the status quo of a tuition-free HE system.

Finnish Higher Education System

Historically, Finnish HE has been an essential societal institution for the creation of the Finnish national identity (Välimaa, 2004); first in the 19th century with the emergence of Finnish nationalism and again in the 20th century with the building of the Finnish nation state (Välimaa, 2012). Up until the mid 20th century Finnish HE catered to the elite, as there were only two universities located in Helsinki and Turku (Kauko & Diogo, 2011). After World War II, Finnish HE expanded rapidly. Finland's economy was one of the most robust European economies and the major political parties supported a welfare-state agenda[8] with "one of the most important

[8] The social welfare system developed after World War II with numerous legislative acts, for example: Child Allowance Act of 1948, National Pension Act of 1956, Health Insurance Act of 1963, unemployment benefits legislation passed in 1967, Comprehensive School Act of 1968, and the Primary Health Care Act of 1971 (Parliament of Finland, 2012).

objectives on the agenda" being equal access to HE (Välimaa, 2004, p. 38). Educational equality meant free access to education at all levels. The idea of educational equality was then implemented from the 1960s to the 1990s (Välimaa, 2004), along with the continued expansion of HE. The institution of HE and access to HE has been a cornerstone to promote Finnish societal cultural mores of equality and universalism. The incumbents seek to protect these deeply rooted Finnish values. However, the role of HE gradually shifts as challengers gain ground. The Finnish government considers the university a key institution for developing the national innovation system and knowledge economy (Välimaa, 2012, Cai & Kivistö, 2010). Finland's desire to be a knowledge economy parallels the European-wide move to transform regional HE as the engine for economic development, giving the Finnish challengers allies at the supranational level.

The Finnish HE system consists of two complementary (dual or binary) sectors: universities and polytechnics. There are 16 universities with the mission of conducting scientific research and conferring undergraduate, masters', and doctoral degrees and 25 polytechnics responsible for vocational training responsive to local, regional, and national labor market needs (Ministry of Education, 2012a). Polytechnics are newcomers to the Finnish HE system; in 1991 a Ministry pilot program amalgamated a vast number of small trades and vocational colleges wherein the Polytechnics Act (2003/351) originated (Aarrevaara, et al., 2009). Together, both sectors enrolled 306,899 students in the 2010/2011 academic year, including 15,707 international degree students (CIMO, 2011). The Finnish Parliament[9] has authority over education and research policy; the universities are governed by the Universities Act and polytechnics by the

[9] The Finnish Parliament is made up of 200 members elected every four years using a direct proportional election system. At this writing, the last election was April 17, 2011. The Parliament is responsible for approving the annual state budget, enacting legislation, ratifying international treaties, and overseeing the government (Parliament of Finland, 2012). There are nine political parties that create the "Parliamentary groups."

Polytechnics Act (Hölttä, 2011). The government and Ministry of Education are responsible for preparing and implementing educational and research policy approved by the Parliament (Ministry of Education, 2012c). Every four years the newly elected government adopts a government plan outlining the educational and research goals and priorities.

Over the past few decades the funding for Finnish HE has changed. In the beginning of the 1990s a funding reform changed a "traditional and detailed allocation" of funds to lump sum budgeting based on performance agreements (Hölttä & Malkki, 2000). Ninety-five percent of all Finnish HE expenses come from public funds, one of the highest percentages in all OECD countries (OECD, 2009b). The high public expenditures for HE in Finland are evidence that the "central and long-standing goal of the national higher education policy has been to provide equal opportunities for students from all socio-economic backgrounds" (Cai & Kivistö, 2010, p. 3).

All Finnish universities since the 1960s-70s have been state-run and for the most part financed by public expenditures; however, the 2009 University Act drastically changed this by separating universities from the state (Hölttä, 2011). The 2009 reform, which replaced the University Act of 1997 (Helsingin Sanomat[10], 2008), encouraged universities to become more entrepreneurial, innovative, and competitive. The reforms stipulated NPM changes such as: increased institutional autonomy, a diversified funding scheme, and embedded new competitive measures into the Finnish HE system, all of which align with the social dynamics of academic capitalism. The Ministry of Education (2012b) stated that the overall purpose of the reform aimed to "facilitate operation in an international environment" and according to the narrative encouraged Finnish HEIs to:

- React to changes in the operational environment.
- Diversify their funding base.

[10] The Helsingin Sanomat, the "most important national newspaper" (Välimaa, 2012, p. 117), published an English translation of most articles online until the discontinuation of this service in October 2012.

- Compete for international research funding.
- Cooperate with foreign universities and research institutes.
- Allocate resources to top-level research and their strategic focus areas.
- Ensure the quality and effectiveness of their research and teaching.
- Strengthen their role within the system of innovation.

The 2009 Finnish reform aligned with the NPM discourse being used in the European regional level reform agendas: the introduction of competition measures and diversification of funding. Välimaa (2010, p. 9) argues that the aim of the 2009 University Act was to “change traditional cultural institutions into corporate universities with clear management structures and strategies, as little internal democracy as possible, and able to act as independent economic entities.” The specific national level reforms went into effect January 2010. The specific reform package that passed through Parliament included the following provisions (Ministry of Education, 2012b):

> 1.) Universities became independent legal bodies. Universities were separated from the state and could choose to be a corporation (subject to public law) or a foundation (subject to private law).
> 2.) Increased university autonomy measures reduced steering by the State administration.
> 3.) University employees were no longer civil servants. Universities created human resource policies and procedures to attract and compete for employees.
> 4.) University financial management increased as universities were granted more autonomy in diversifying their income through donations and business activities.
> 5.) University board structure changed as the boards were given full financial liability for university business. In addition, the composition of the boards changed to include external members of the university community. For public universities at least 40% of the board members have to be external to the community. For foundation universities the chair and the vice-chair are external members and it is possible to elect all external members to the board if chosen.
> 6.) A five-year tuition fee pilot program was introduced allowing specified English-language Masters programs to collect tuition fees from non-EU/EEA students.

Of course, there was resistance to and advocacy for the 2009 University Act, just as there is for the tuition pilot program. Välimaa (2012, p. 112) describes the collective actors for and against the 2009 reforms as “corporatists” (challengers) and “Humboldtians” (incumbents), which parallels Fligstein & McAdam’s (2012) construction of collective actors in the SAF theory. Välimaa explains that the corporatists comprise party members in the Ministry of Education who publicly supported the reform in debates and Parliament. On the other hand, the Humboldtians represent the resistance movement and consist of academic labor unions, academic staff, and students. They attempted to influence and recruit others through public demonstrations as well as debate. Thus, the collective actors in the SAF did not begin the resistance/advocacy movement just for the tuition fee pilot program; the tuition movement was an outgrowth of the overarching movement for/against the prescribed NPM reforms to move Finnish HE closer to the market.

The University Act of 2009 was not the first time tuition fees were debated in Finland. In 1992 there was a proposal made in Parliament to collect tuition fees for Finnish students, but the incumbents' resistance movement flattened the attempt. The discussion gained momentum in 2005 when a Ministerial committee was created to study the possibility of collecting tuition fees from international students (Helsingin Sanomat, 2005a; 2005b). While the final report described other countries' tuition fee procedures, it also presented arguments for and against tuition fees in Finland and in the end recommended the collection of partial tuition fees (EU €3,500-12,000/academic year) and a system of scholarships/grants for the 2007-08 academic year (Ministry of Education, 2005; Helsingin Sanomat, 2005c). Approaching the March 2007 elections, the Parliament was divided on tuition fees (Helsingin Sanomat, 2007). Hence, the issue never made it the bargaining table. The University Act, which included many other reforms mentioned above together with the tuition pilot program, passed in 2009 by 168 to 16 votes (Dobson, 2009). The tuition pilot program began in the fall of 2010 and runs until December 31, 2014, giving HEI actors five years to participate in the program if desired. Until 2010, the Finnish Constitution guaranteed a tuition-free HE system for all students, regardless of nationality, pursuing bachelors', masters', and doctoral degrees. In this new legislation, the Ministry granted 131 IDMPs, within nine universities and eleven polytechnics, the opportunity to take part in the experimental tuition program. Although the selected programs account for only a small portion of the international education opportunities in Finland, 131 out of 285 IDMPs (Weimer, 2012), the reform served as a landmark in the move to offer market-oriented HE (Cai & Kivistö, 2010).

Most of what is written on the new Finnish tuition fees consists of newspaper articles, governmental policy papers, and OECD reports. While these documents offer descriptive information on the shift to collect fees, only a few studies focus on the implementation and implications of tuition fees in Finland or in the Nordic region. Cai & Kivistö (2010; 2011) present the national policy context leading to a fees-based Finnish HE system and offer several alternative strategies and approaches to exporting education. Cai, et al. (2012) explore the extent to which HEIs are ready to export degree-based education to international students. They find that Finnish HEIs face many challenges in their readiness to export education, due to "the lack of experience and knowledge in marketing, the insufficient motivation and commitment [by management], the lack of coordination in exporting education, and the need for a clear vision on export of education" (Cai, et al., 2012, p. 15). From a more general and historical perspective, Välimaa (2012) examines how the nature and societal role of Finnish HE has changed over time, particularly how the traditional nation-building Finnish university has evolved into a public corporation. Finally, Aarrevaara, et al. (2009) explore the reforms in the new Universities Act, specifically analyzing the creation of the new Aalto University and the Finnish government's aspiration for a world-class university. Given that the new tuition fees commenced in the fall of 2010, the small number of studies in this area is understandable. The literature analyzing a new fees-based HE system remains under-developed and under-theorized and this study aims to address this gap in literature.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

To address the research questions, I employ a qualitative research design including in-depth interviews and document analysis. This study analyzes the contextual events, narratives, and rationales leading to the tuition pilot program and how higher education (HE) actors at two universities respond to the opportunity to collect tuition fees. Thus, two universities are selected as sites for a multiple case study approach. Data collection includes a purposeful sample of 25 respondents at the two selected sites as well as key stakeholders in the tuition fee debate in Finland. Documents and websites from supranational organizations, national government agencies, higher education institutions (HEIs), and newspapers serve as supplementary data to facilitate triangulation and internal validity and reliability. Data are analyzed using an open coding system. Finally, this chapter concludes with candid remarks on positionality and limitations of this study.

Research Questions

In this study I seek to discover the response to and the contextual elements surrounding the tuition fee pilot program. Specifically, my research task in this dissertation explores how key actors in the field seek to change or sustain the tuition-free HE system in Finland. Three questions guide the research design:

1.) Why has Finland introduced a five-year pilot program to collect student tuition fees for students outside the European Union (EU)?

2.) What are the different rationales that actors, both incumbents and challengers, use to guide and/or enact social change or stability concerning the introduction of tuition fees in Finland?

3.) How are different Finnish institutions and actors (strategic action field [SAF] actors) responding to the tuition fee pilot program introduced in 2010?

This methodology uses theory as a lens to approach the phenomenon. In this particular study, theory guides the research questions and serves as a framework to understand and explain the tuition fee debate and pilot program. The first research question addresses the context leading to the current field environment. Answering this question is important to give the reader a deep understanding of how collective actors in the SAF have moved the tuition fee debate from a taboo topic to a policy instrument. Special attention is given to identifying and locating the collective actors (incumbents, challengers, and governmental units) within the SAF and exploring their role as a 20-year history unfolds. The second research question considers the social skills of the collective actors and how they deploy them through discursive formation. The rationales of the incumbents and challengers are highlighted further, building on how the national context shapes the SAF. Specifically, the discourse illuminates the distinction between the incumbents and the challengers. The incumbents resist the academic capitalism regime and seek to protect the public good regime while the challengers advocate for structural opportunities that change existing institutional arrangements and support an academic capitalism regime. Finally, the third research question presents the multiple case study findings of how two HEIs and the collective actors within them responded to the opportunity to collect tuition fees. This particular question outlines what moves collective actors made to gain position in the SAF and influence the decision makers.

Strategy of Inquiry

This qualitative study follows a unique blend of the social constructionist and structural epistemological frameworks. A constructivist viewpoint assumes that “reality is socially constructed" and that multiple interpretations and realities of a single social phenomenon exist (Merriam, 2009, p. 8). In other words, "through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms" actors construct meanings of their experiences (Creswell, 2007, p. 21). The actors in this study are conceptualized through SAFs which are considered to be socially constructed arenas where actors with various resources compete for advantage. The authors of this theory highlight three ways that SAFs are socially constructed (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 10):

1.) Membership criterion is subjective.
2.) Boundaries within the SAFs shift according the situation and what is at stake.
3.) SAFs are constructed through understanding and shared meaning developed over time.

As actors construct shared understanding and meaning, soon the concepts, language, and/or representations of action become reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Yet, within the SAF framework, the authors argue that seldom will you find SAFs "organized around a truly consensual taken for granted reality," because continuous contention and change exists among actors in the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 10). As the reality evolves and changes, multiple interpretations exist.

In addition to the social constructivist framework, SAF theory employs structure and agency to explain how social structures, such as rules and resources (Giddens, 1979; 1984), are deployed by collective actors. Drawing from Giddens' theory of structuration, Fligstein & McAdam borrow a few essential elements from social movement theory: the idea of collective action, the interplay of actors, and the arena of social action. Yet, unlike social movement theory, SAF theory is not only concerned with conflict and change, but also field stability. The authors claim that a stable field may also be rife with conflict and change, sometimes leading to an "episode of contention," An episode of contention is when actors use innovative action and there is growing uncertainty concerning “the rules and power relations governing the field” (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 21). Neo-institutional theory in organizational studies (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott & Meyer, 1983) is the parallel theory to SAF as it also describes the social dynamics at the meso-level. However, the SAF theory is distinct because neo-institutional theory is mostly concerned with conformity and lacks a theory of “agency, power, and conflict” (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 28). SAF considers how actors in certain positions have agency and power over resources. The authors also consider field stability, conflict, and change in the way it embeds SAFs into the broader field environments allowing for a “deeper structural account” of influences from outside the field.

Using a qualitative methodology facilitates understanding how HE collective actors in Finland construct meaning and action through agency, power, and conflict. Qualitative research is appropriate for this particular study because the aim is not to determine cause and effect, generalizability or future prediction, but rather the intention is to reveal how actors “interpret their experiences, construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam, 2009, p. 5).

Method

There are multiple ways to approach such a study. For the purposes of this study I chose a multiple case study method because I am interested to investigate a few cases in “considerable depth” (Gomm, et al., 2000, p. 3). This method facilitates an in-depth descriptive analysis of a bounded real-life phenomenon (Merriam, 2009) resulting in a vivid case account and case-based patterns (Creswell, 2009). A qualitative multiple case study is well suited for this particular study because the context and phenomenon have unclear boundaries (Yin, 2003); that is to say that the history of the Finnish HE system, policy making, and the introduction of tuition fees are interconnected. Hence, descriptive data from interviews and documents help reconstruct the contextual events and history leading to the implementation of a pilot program for international student tuition fees in Finland. Merriam (1998) claims there are three foundational characteristics of a good case study. First, the particularism of a case study allows a researcher to deeply explore a particular phenomenon. The phenomenon in this case, contained by the Finnish HE field, is how collective actors resist or advocate tuition fees. Second, case studies provide thick description and use literary prose to portray a vivid image using quotes, newspaper articles, policy documents, and other data. Third, the heuristic characteristic of a case study helps to illuminate the reader’s understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

Site Selection

Two diverse Finnish universities are chosen as case sites for qualitative inquiry. To select the sites I established criteria to guide case selection. First, case sites were narrowed down to 20 HEIs (nine universities and 11 UAS), as these HEIs were selected by the Ministry of Education to participate in the pilot program. Originally I had planned to conduct a multiple case study with three HEIs, two universities and one university of applied sciences (UAS) (polytechnic sector). However, as I discovered the nuances of the pilot program I decided my time would be better spent focusing on the universities. Typically, Finnish universities offer more international degree masters’ programs (IDMPs) than UAS and thus more universities were eligible to participate in the pilot program. Hence, the case sites were narrowed down to nine participating universities. To select two universities (out of nine), the criteria included comparing regional location, tuition pilot program participation, and type of HEI. The overarching aim in using these comparison criteria was to select two universities with distinct characteristics. First, I selected a few HEIs in the Helsinki area and a few outside of the Helsinki region (HEIs that were within four hours of train travel to/from Helsinki). I then looked at how many IDMPs were selected to participate from each HEI and how many had already made the decision to collect or not collect tuition fees. Next, I compared the profiles and characteristics (public or foundation, funding, governance, etc.) of each HEI. In doing so, two universities were selected.

Since the field of HE in Finland is small, in relative terms, with a total of 16 universities it would have been challenging to guarantee case site anonymity even if assigned a pseudonym. Each university is known for its unique institutional profile and/or regional location. During the interviews, many of the respondents speak explicitly to the HEI profiles and characteristics. These narratives and individual case site profiles are important to the overall story of how each HEI responds to the tuition pilot program. Therefore, the names of the two selected universities are divulged, but in doing so I carefully ensure anonymity of the individual respondents discussed in detail in the next section.

The two selected case sites have distinctive characteristics (see Table 2). Aalto University emerged as a unique HEI in the Helsinki area with the highest number of IDMPs participating in the pilot program (14 out of 46) and the only national university recently selected to become Finland's future "world-class" university of excellence. Different from Aalto University, the University of Jyväskylä (JYU) surfaced as another case site meeting the aforementioned criteria. It is a 75-year old regional university located in Central Finland with a strong history and although 15 IDMPs were chosen to participate in the pilot program only one had chosen to collect tuition.

Table 2

Characteristics of Selected Case Sites

	Aalto University	**University of Jyväskylä**
Year Established:	2010	1934
History:	Merger of three HEIs (the Helsinki School of Economics, University of Art and Design Helsinki, and the Helsinki University of Technology)	Formerly teacher's college created in 1863
Legal Status:	Foundation (subject to private law)	Corporation (subject to public law)
Regional Location/population:	Helsinki metropolitan area 1,366,241 (as of January, 2012)	City of Jyväskylä 132,000 people
Total Enrolled Students (2011):	19,737	14,578
Mission Statement:	Aalto University works towards a better world through top-quality research, interdisciplinary collaboration, pioneering education, surpassing traditional boundaries, and enabling renewal. The national mission of the University is to support Finland's success and contribute to Finnish society, its internationalisation and competitiveness, and to promote the welfare of its people.	The mission of the University of Jyväskylä is, on the basis of research, to seek out truths, to produce and disseminate new knowledge, and to enhance and renew the cultural heritage.
Schools/Faculties:	Economics, art and design, engineering, chemical technology, science, and electrical engineering	Humanities, information technology, education, sport and health sciences, mathematics, business and economics, and social sciences
University Board Composition:	7 members (Key tasks: responsible for strategic planning, operation and financial issues and is responsible for future planning.)	7 members (Key tasks: select rector, responsible for defining the University's key operational and financial targets, strategy and management principles, as well as University's property management.)

(Aalto University, 2012a; City of Helsinki, 2012; City of Jyväskylä, 2012; University of Jyväskylä, 2012; 2011).

The funding and governance of these two universities differ; Aalto University is a foundation (subject to private law) with greater autonomy and more basic and incentive funding (see Table 3) than JYU which is considered to be a public corporation subject to public law (Ministry of Education, 2012b). Under the new Universities Act, all universities were granted more autonomy by “being detached from the State budget economy” (University Act, 2009) and becoming independent legal entities subject to public law or foundations subject to private law (the Foundations Act). The government no longer manages university assets and capital income; instead universities assume this responsibility (Aarrevaara, et al., 2009). This new latitude in financial management allows universities to supplement “sufficient core funding” with donations and business endeavors (Ministry of Education, 2012b), although most of the funding still comes from government subsidies (see Table 3). Even though there is new-found autonomy, the government still has a large influence over these universities as it provides the vast majority of universities’ funding.

Table 3

2011 State Funding for Case Site Universities [11]

	Aalto University	**JYU**
Total budget	EU €272,0 million	EU €144,3 million
Percent of funding from State	63%	67%
State funding per student	EU €13,781	EU €9,898

(Aalto University Foundation, 2012; University of Jyväskylä, 2012)

The aim in selecting two universities with dissimilar profiles allows the findings to be analyzed and compared within the differing contexts. Since Aalto University had been selected and designed by the Finnish Government to become the “world class” university by 2020, it will likely have more collective actors assuming the role of challenger. On the other hand, collective

[11] Other than state funding, supplementary income at Aalto University and JYU mostly includes grant research funding (Finnish Funding Agency for Technology and Innovation, Academy of Finland, and EU); other income comes from services and business operations (Aalto University Foundation, 2012; University of Jyväskylä, 2012). Aalto University also has income from investment and financing operations.

actors at JYU will likely assume the incumbent position because they have resisted the opportunity to collect tuition fees.

The first university selected for the case study, Aalto University[12], was created by the Finnish government (under the auspices of the 2009 reforms) with the aim of creating a "world-class" university in research and innovation by 2020. There is an assumption that countries must have a research university performing at a world-class level to compete in the global knowledge economy (Deem, et al., 2007). International league tables ranking universities have been implicated in normalizing a global model of university excellence based on U.S. research universities (Tierney, 2009; Altbach & Salmi, 2011). Mohrman, et al. named this phenomenon the "Emerging Global Model" (EGM) and describes the EGMs as encompassing eight distinct characteristics: global mission, research intensity, new roles for professors, diversified funding, worldwide recruitment, increasing complexity, new relationships with government and industry, and global collaboration with similar institutions (2008, p. 21). The EGM model is based on market-oriented practices, as "world-class" universities compete for global talent and pursue diversified funding including high price tuition fees. In this sense, Aalto University follows the academic capitalism regime as it strives to be among the "best" universities in the world. As Aalto University strives to achieve "world-class" status by 2020, it is expected that Aalto University operations will become more market-oriented as they embrace the eight characteristics of EMGs. This is also why the Finnish Government granted foundation status to Aalto University, as it allows for more alignment with Finnish industry, the ability (and expectation) to diversify funding, and greater autonomy in embracing the forces of globalization and competing internationally.

[12] Named in honor of one of Finland's legendary architects, Alvar Aalto (1898-1976), who was a student at the Helsinki University of Technology in the 1920's (Aarrevaara, et al., 2009).

Helsinki-based Aalto University resulted from a merger of three universities in 2010: Helsinki University of Technology (approximately 14,000 degree students), Helsinki School of Economics (3,200 students), and University of Art and Design (1,900 students). Through this merger, six schools were created: economics, art & design, engineering, chemical technology, science, and electrical engineering. In January 2010 Aalto officially opened its doors to 20,434 students. There were 19,737 enrolled students in 2010-11 academic year of which 9.5 per cent were international degree students. Aalto is one of two HEIs considered a foundation, allowing for advanced entrepreneurial activities. To kick-start Aalto's foundation capital (endowment), the government offered an initial seed money investment of EU €500 million conditional on EU €200 million being raised from the private sector (Aarrevaara, et al., 2009) which was accomplished in June 2011 (Aalto University, 2011). The fundraising campaign, in itself, is an element of academic capitalism, but the tight connection with industry in raising those funds further perpetuates the academic capitalistic nature of this endeavor. The campaign has been a joint effort between Aalto University and the Confederation of Finnish Industries (EK)[13]. The expectation is that the foundation capital will fund six to eight percent of the anticipated EU €400 million operating budget in 2020 (Aalto University, 2011). In addition to funding reforms, the 2009 University Act also stipulated that the composition of foundation universities' boards must have external members (outside of the university committee) acting as chair and vice-chair. The remainder of the university board members may be either external or internal members.

The second university selected, the JYU, is a comprehensive and multidisciplinary public university located approximately three and a half hours (by bus or train) north of Helsinki in

[13] EK represents 16,000 member companies located in Finland. The aim of EK is to "create a better and more competitive operating environment for the business community in Finland" (Confederation of Finnish Industries, 2012). Special attention is given to EU cooperation, "because the rules concerning companies are being regulated increasingly at the European level." In addition to three regional offices in Finland, the EK also has an office in Brussels.

Central Finland. With approximately 14,000 full-time students and 1,000 international students, the university is considered to be among the top three largest universities in Finland. There are seven faculties (humanities, information technology, education, sport and health sciences, mathematics, business and economics, and social sciences) offering bachelors', masters', and PhD degree programs including 15 international English-language masters' programs. The university is full of Finnish cultural history; in 1863 the first Finnish teacher college (called the teaching seminary) was founded which eventually evolved into JYU in 1934 through "academic drift" (Clark, 1983). There was a desire to "enhance the social status" from a teachers' college to a university as a way to secure more resources (Välimaa, 2004, p. 39). In 2009, the university celebrated its 75th anniversary.

While Aalto is a foundation under private law, JYU operates under public law, the main differences being funding mechanisms, university board composition, and university autonomy. There is no incentive funding for public corporation universities. University board composition also differs between foundation and public status universities, public university boards must have a minimum of forty percent external board members and the rest can be university community members. The overall governance structure of foundation universities is much more flexible than the university governance structure (Ministry of Education, 2012b).

Sample

The sample consists of 25 respondents from the two selected universities as well as individuals involved in the wider national HE policy arena. The respondents were chosen because of their participation, knowledge, and/or direct insights concerning the evolution of the tuition fee pilot program. Within these pages, respondents are coded to ensure individual anonymity. Since Finland is a small country, individuals working within the HE field often know one another. Thus, vague descriptions categorize respondents to guarantee confidentiality:

1.) National Level: Ministry of Education, CIMO, Confederation of Finnish Industries, individuals serving on Ministry working groups, etc.
2.) University Administrator: Rectors, Vice Rectors, Vice Presidents, and Directors
3.) University Academic Staff: Professors, Academic Coordinators, and Lecturers
4.) University Staff: Managers and Project Coordinators
5.) Student Union: Paid student union staff members and elected student union members representing both the National Union of University Students in Finland (SYL) and the individual HEI student unions

The term “National Level” refers to respondents who were selected because of their role, involvement and/or position in national bureaucratic agencies, Ministry working groups, and policy development related to the tuition fee pilot program. The term “University Administrator” includes individuals in university leadership positions such as rectors, vice presidents, and directors of departments. The term “Academic Staff” is the common language used for professors; this category includes IDMP academic coordinators who also function as professors. The “University Staff” category comprises managers and project coordinators. The term “Student Union” includes both elected and full-time staff within the national and HEI organizations. Initially the sample did not include respondents from the student union; however, as the interviews progressed I soon realized the important role that student unions play in HE policy making in Finland.

Table 4 summarizes the demographics of the respondents. More respondents were interviewed at Aalto University than JYU simply because there were more IDMPs (14 out of 46) at Aalto participating in the tuition pilot program compared to the non-participation at the JYU (1 out of 15). The difference in participation made it essential to gather more data from Aalto as their situation was more complex. All together, there were more female respondents (15) than males (10). Out of the 25 individuals interviewed two respondents were non-Finnish.

Table 4

Interview Respondent Demographics

Category	Description	Count
Position:	National Level HE Actors	6
	University Administrators	6
	Academic Staff	5
	University Staff	4
	Student Union	4
	TOTAL	**25**
HEIs:	Aalto University	9
	University of Jyväskylä	5
	TOTAL	**14**
Gender:	Female	15
	Male	10
	TOTAL	**25**
Nationality:	Finnish	23
	Non-Finnish	2
	TOTAL	**25**

Respondents were selected through purposeful sampling because I sought to "discover, understand, and gain insight" and thus selected a sample that I could learn the most from (Merriam, 2009, p. 77). Respondents were recruited in two ways, although the second way proved to be more successful. First, when I arrived in Finland, as a Fulbright grantee I was given many opportunities to discuss my research with key informants (professors, Fulbright staff, researchers, etc.). Many of them gave specific names of individuals who were involved in the evolution of the tuition fee pilot program. Within the first month of my arrival, I proceeded to send a few interview recruitment letters via email to potential respondents (see Appendix B for recruitment letter). However, I quickly learned through lack of responses that when approaching prospective interviewees the Finnish way is different than the American. This is when I also realized that I was entering a complex world of international research for which no doctoral coursework could have prepared me. But, through trial and error, persistence, and a myriad of cultural self-study, I soon discovered the Finnish way to writing an email recruitment letter: shortening the text in the email invitation, making the language more direct, beginning and ending with Finnish greetings and salutations, and adding the informant's name as a reference point (see Appendix C for the abridged recruitment email letter). The second way of recruiting respondents was through the snowball sampling technique; at the end of each interview I asked respondents if there was anyone else with whom I should speak. For those potential respondents who were suggested to me and met the respondent criteria, I sent the abridged recruitment email letter (Appendix C) and once the respondent agreed to meet with me I confirmed the interview date and time and attached the original recruitment letter (Appendix B). Of course, this turned out to be the best strategy in locating key respondents.

Although many names were suggested during the snowball sampling, I selected respondents who were closely involved in the events leading up to the pilot program or the actual execution of the program. Careful consideration was taken to select respondents who were key actors in lobbying for and against the program, or involved in decision making and implementation of the pilot program. While there were some academic staff members suggested to me, I chose two to three from each university, one who was eager to participate in collecting tuition fees and one who was not. Because the HEI profiles are different there was no way to interview academic staff members from similar disciplines.

Data Collection, Sources & Analysis

Data collection included semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in the tuition fee debate and secondary data in the form of documents. The primary source of data consisted of 25 semi-structured interviews with national level HE actors, university administrators, academic staff, university staff, and student union representatives. In-depth interviews were employed to capture collective actors' interpretation of events in the SAF. Secondary data included descriptive data and national policy documents from the Ministry of Education, newspaper articles, and academic articles written about the Finnish HE system. Data were collected from October 2011 to May 2012 and throughout this process data analysis occurred simultaneously.

Interviews

Developing the interview questions and conducting the interviews followed certain guidelines to guarantee better data collection. The interview questions for this study developed with the original research questions and the theoretical orientation in mind. An interview guide was established to guide the interview process (Appendix D). The guide included questions about the history and influences leading to the pilot program, how decisions were made at the HEI level and who made them, the rationales driving those decisions, and inquiries were made about the resistance to and the advocacy for tuition fees. Each interview ended by question asking the respondent whether they had additional information to share that would help me understand the phenomenon. In this case study design, unstructured and open-ended interview questions allowed for a more conversational approach to collecting interview data (Creswell, 2009). In addition, interview questions facilitated a conversational process, not as a way to steer the respondent's answer, but rather to allow for free-flowing opinions, experiences, and reflections to surface (Glesne, 2006).

During the interviews, building rapport with the respondents led to long and thoughtful responses. One important aspect to consider in international research is how the culture and language helps and/or hinders the interview process. Understanding the local culture and some basic language greetings, such as “terve” (hello), “kiitos” (thank you) in the local language, helped build rapport with the respondents. Allowing time to linger on a question opened more space for the respondent to answer the question completely and allowed me more time to follow up with a probing question (Glesne, 2006). This was especially important in the Finnish context, because their communication style is different from that of the typical American; they are comfortable with much longer times of silence and use these pauses to further formulate their thoughts. Thus, it was suggested to me early on in the interview process to wait at least five seconds before continuing with the next interview question. Throughout the interview, an observation protocol was implemented wherein I drew a line down the middle for analytical notes on one side and descriptive notes on the other (Creswell, 2009). During the data collection stage, in a case study design, the interview questions evolved as I gained more information about the context and phenomenon (Merriam, 1998).

The 25 interviews ranged in time from 17 minutes to 60 minutes, with the average interview time being 40 minutes. To organize the details of each interview, I used a database to capture information about each respondent such as what organization they worked for, their position and/or role, and the length and date of their interview. All interviews were conducted in person. As I scheduled interviews, I paid particular attention not to schedule too many interviews in one day and to ensure background noise was minimal to allow for good sound recording. All interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed.

Informed Consent Form

Before each interview, I introduced myself, summarized the aims and objectives of my study, and then took time to explain the informed consent form approved by the University of Georgia's Institutional Review Board (Appendix E). In Finland, social scientists rarely go through a review process or for that matter use a consent form. It is taken for granted that social scientists embody the research ethics they learned throughout their coursework. Thus, a detailed explanation of the U.S. process was warranted. Respondents carefully read the consent form, allowing me time to set up the audio-recorder, observe the surroundings, and prepare the interview questions. Prior to asking the first interview question I solicited questions they had about the process, etc. Rarely did a respondent have questions about the process, but some inquired about me as a researcher, how and why I was studying this topic, and more personally how I was enjoying my time in Finland or even more directly what I thought of Finland.

Interview Transcription Convention

Interviewing non-native English speakers can make for challenging transcription. In this study as respondents were being interviewed they would often times search for correct words, confuse past/present tense, and have difficulties expressing their thoughts in a second language. Although most Finnish respondents have been formally trained in the English language and operate in a Finnish and English speaking professional working world, some interviews still needed to be cleaned up to ensure reader understanding. During transcription all words, even the unintentional repeated and filler words (e.g. "uh," "kind of," and "so") were dictated into text. Selected quotes were then proofed and corrected by omitting repeat and filler words, correcting past and present tense, and changing words to encapsulate the meaning of a quote that was not easily conveyed in transcription. Throughout the process of correcting the interview language, specific care was given to preserve the colloquial style of the respondent, however; grammatical correctness and coherence was not the aim. A few quotes, both the original transcription and the proofed quote, are available in the appendix to serve as an example of the transcription convention used (Appendix F).

Documents

In addition to interview data, documents served as supplementary data to ensure triangulation. Over 60 documents were drawn from various sources that addressed more broadly the introduction of tuition fees and more specifically the individual sites (see Appendix G for list of documents collected, language of document, and purpose of use: text analysis or context). Documents were collected that addressed the tuition pilot program or context leading up to the tuition pilot program. The criteria used to collect documents included on-line searches of relevant documents as well as documents mentioned by respondents and informants. Since this study incorporates data and analysis from the macro, meso, and micro levels, documents were collected from the supranational, national, and institutional level. At the macro level, policy documents, surveys, and reports from the supranational level organizations, namely the EU, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and European University Association (EUA), were analyzed to understand the connection between supranational HE policy processes and recommendations and changes in Finland. At the national level, annual Government Plans, Ministry of Education reports, working group reports, and websites of the Parliament, Government, and Ministry of Education were consulted to discover the national drive or resistance to tuition fees in Finland. Moving down to the meso level, HEI policy documents, annual reports, and websites served to contextualize each selected case site. Finally, at the micro level of analysis, documents and websites from the international degree programs and student union papers, blogs, and meeting minutes were collected. In addition to these data, local, regional, and national newspapers, as well as academic articles pertaining to the tuition fee pilot program were consulted to further triangulate policy documents and interviews.

The archival documents, internet sites, and data were used to further explain the context and verify information given by the respondents (triangulation). The text of most governmental and institutional policy documents were analyzed and coded according to the research questions and emergent themes from the interview data. National policy documents only available in Finnish (10 documents) were first translated by *Google Translate* and these translations were then double-checked by Finnish colleagues to ensure language accuracy. Yet, even with these translation protocols, there are limitations to the data analysis (see Limitations section of this chapter). Although the data collection process took place throughout the interview, data analysis, and writing phase, a lack of Finnish language skills made searching for other documents, not mentioned by respondents or informants, impossible. For example, there may have been text of the tuition debate that occurred in the Parliament chambers that were not collected.

Data Analysis

Data analysis includes organizing the data in a manner that explains what the researcher has discovered (Glesne, 2006). In this study, analyzing data by categorical aggregation led to the creation of an open coding system based on the theory and research questions. Coding organizes data into themes and/or patterns, while open coding specifically breaks data apart and delineates concepts emerging from the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). First, throughout the eight-month data collection phase I used field notes to journal about emerging patterns and themes. Second, after interviews were transcribed, I read through each interview to edit the English language for reader understandability and compared and added to the reoccurring themes and patterns written in my field notes. Third, I went through each transcribed interview again and began grouping quotes that fit into specific coding categories. While this method included both inductive (developed through the text) and deductive (*a priori*) coding, mostly inductive coding was used. The data was gathered and analyzed from the bottom up to build toward a theoretical perspective rather than deductively testing hypotheses (Merriam, 2009). Both theories framed what I inductively discovered in the field and the data. Academic capitalism informed my fieldwork from the beginning of the study whereas the SAF theory was brought in mid-way through data collection.

Fourth, the next phase of analysis occurred when I used the three research questions to organize the themes and patterns. Fifth, the analysis did not end there, it continued through the writing phase as I used the aforementioned theories, SAFs and academic capitalism, to explain the patterns and themes that emerged from the data. By comparing interviews, policy documents, newspaper articles, and observations I triangulated data and ensured internal validity of the findings. Throughout the data analysis process I took time to reflect on the data, always being skeptical of first impressions and interpretations. At the same time I continually danced between correction and modification, and conjecture and verification.

Validity & Reliability

Throughout the study, steps were taken to ensure validity and reliability. There are parallel qualitative standards to the traditional quantitative standards of rigor (Toma, 2006). Whereas validity, reliability, objectivity, and generalizability are the standard quantitative modes of rigor, trustworthiness and authenticity are the qualitative parallel standards. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a few ways to ensure trustworthiness and internal validity in a qualitative research design. Trustworthiness develops through credibility, wherein the findings ring true to respondents, informants, and other researchers. In this study, credibility is attained through saturation during data collection (hearing the same concepts and themes repeated in interviews); multiple case studies allow for analytical replication resulting in more robust findings (Yin, 2003). In addition, triangulation, member checks, and rich description of the context and phenomenon contribute to the credibility of the findings. In addition, at the beginning and throughout the study I was mindful of my own reflexivity and reflected not only on my role as a researcher, but also my role as a learner in the process (Glesne, 2006) and the biases and assumptions I bring to the study. Reliability ensures that "results are consistent with the data collected" (Merriam, 2009, p. 221). Reliability is also known as dependability in the qualitative research arena. To guarantee dependability of the study I took into account and documented the changes in the selected case and/or research design, how data were collected, and how categories were derived. In addition, member checks were conducted to avoid misinterpretations of emerging findings.

Objectivity/Positionality

Every researcher comes to his or her study with a chronicle of unique life experiences that place them in particular situations. Positionality is the social position that a researcher holds in relation to the subject matter and the respondents. Examining one's own positionality is an important exercise for researchers as they attempt to interpret the social world that abounds and then constructs knowledge through interpretative interactions. Positionality highlights power and issues of subjectivity.

As an international researcher exploring a Finnish phenomenon, there were both personal and cultural experiences that shaped the way I approached this study. My American identity is not something that I can easily mask, the way I move (my mannerisms), the way I speak (my English American accent), and the way I think are all products of growing up in the American culture. When I walked into a respondent's office, I was very aware of first impressions and attempted to make the respondent feel comfortable and confident with my ability as an international researcher. However, it may have been the case that some respondents were uncertain of my intentions and may have been reluctant to share. Often, respondents referenced the U.S. system of tuition fees as a way to explain their stance on the issue. It was all too common to be asked, “What do you think about this tuition fee pilot program?” as the Finnish culture tends to be curious about how others view their culture and society. In fact, to demonstrate this cultural norm a Finnish colleague shared a common joke:

> "A German, A Frenchman, a Russian, and a Finn took part in a writing competition on elephants. The German came up with "A Short Introduction to the Physiology of the Elephant, 1,500 pages, plus appendices". The French entry was "The Love Life of the Elephant". The Russian wrote "Elephants in Russia", and the Finn wrote "What do Elephants Think of Me?" (Helsingin Sanomat, 2006).

When asked my opinion of the tuition fee pilot program, I found myself giving a vague answer and reflecting on my own personal experiences with tuition in the U.S. “It is hard to say. Being from the U.S. I only know HE with tuition fees, so that is why I find the tuition situation here in Finland unique and fascinating.” To answer such a rudimentary question, not as a researcher but as an individual, would have been a complex and otherwise long oratory about the pros and cons of tuition according to my perspective. All I have come to know and experience is a HE system with tuition fees. I watched my parents, both educators, struggle to pay for their three children to attain in-state undergraduate degrees. Luckily, I received a lucrative scholarship from the EU to pay for my European master’s degree, with minimal tuition fees. Now, I find myself dipping into my savings account to pay in-state tuition at the University of Georgia. Throughout my educational career I have come to learn the importance of parents’ contributions, scholarships, and how quickly tuition drains a savings account. As a HE researcher I have come to learn that tuition is a way to fund HE when public budgets cannot sustain it. I see how student loan debt continues to grow and becomes a national predicament as the default rate rises. All of these personal experiences inform my view that tuition fees, among other variables, continue to reproduce economic disparity in the U.S. society.

So, when I discovered that there was a national HE system without tuition fees, honestly I was fascinated. How is this possible? From afar it looked like utopia, the perfect society that collectively takes care of their citizens offering equal access to education, healthcare, pensions, etc. While the dreamer in me wanted to believe this perception of tuition-free flawlessness, the realist in me tempered this view as I know that utopia is a false notion. Thus, my curiosity motivated me to pursue this study.

What also plays into this positionality is the international philosophy I have developed while living in four countries. I have come to understand that my “American” thinking is not always the right way of thinking. Thus, answering the question grows even more complex because I realize that tuition may or may not be the best or the only way to fund HE depending on national context. It is here that I am confronted with not a neutral stance, but rather an understanding that whatever I believe does not matter in the larger picture of the Finnish situation. What matters is that I, as the researcher, remain aware of these biases throughout the research process. As a researcher, I do not necessarily need to disregard my perceptions, beliefs, and biases; however, I do need to “minimize the effects that those biases have” on research through better research design, triangulation, and skepticism (Stake, 2010, p. 166). Qualitative research focuses on how respondents construct meaning of a phenomenon, “not the meaning that the researchers bring to the research” (Creswell, 2009, p. 175). I see both sides of the argument and while I want to believe that a tuition-free HE system is the best for the Finnish nation state, I also understand the wider contextual environment and issues.

Limitations

Every study has limitations and it is a researcher’s responsibility to acknowledge such limits. The first set of limitations concern the sample. Luckily, in this study access to respondents came easier than excepted after I discovered the success of snowball sampling. However, with a small sample of respondents and a narrow number of case sites there is no ability to generalize the findings to other HEIs in Finland or to other national systems of HE. The main aim of this study was not to generalize to a larger population and most often qualitative research does not warrant generalizability. Another limit resulting from the sample is the extent to which the findings give a holistic picture of the tuition debate in Finland. Since the sample needed to be limited in scope, not all key stakeholders were included in the interviews. There is one category of stakeholders, the politicians, who hold significant power in the SAF. While they were referenced often by the respondents, I was not able to cross-check the respondent interpretations with the politicians because they were simply not part of the sample. Including politicians would have changed the scope of the study, increased the amount of time needed to collect data, and potentially brought with it challenging access issues.

Being an international researcher in a non-English speaking country also brought limitations. Not being able to speak or read Finnish proved to be a challenging aspect of this study. There appears to be no consistency with the government and HEI policy documents that are available in English. After 2007, it seems that more documents are translated to English, but even then there are policy documents, for example the tuition pilot program working group documents, which are only available in Finnish. When I needed to reference a document only available in the Finnish language I would first use *Google Translate* and then ask a colleague to ensure that my translations were correct. This proved to be a cumbersome process as *Google Translate* does not have the capability to translate every Finnish word and even when it does making sense out of the sentence structure can be difficult. In addition, there were times that I had to wait for colleagues to be available to translate the text. Language also became a limitation when I was invited to a few seminars and presentations concerning the tuition pilot program, as they were all conducted in the Finnish language. For instance, the annual tuition pilot program evaluation presentation took place in April 2012 and the entire presentation, including PowerPoint slides, was conducted in Finnish. While I have been taking Finnish language courses, my knowledge and ability to read, write, and listen remains at a basic level. In addition to documents and presentations in Finnish, there were also times when side conversations about the tuition pilot program were spoken in Finnish and thus unrecognizable to the researcher. One final limitation related to language has to do with the ability of respondents to accurately portray their thoughts in a second language. Perhaps there were times when respondents could not find the correct English words to capture the essence of what they wanted to express.

Finally, as an international researcher I was limited by cultural context. In addition to learning about and focusing on the case sites and data, I also had the task of learning the nuances of the Finnish culture, the HE system, and the political system. While my cultural edification has greatly improved since moving here in August 2011, there are still moments when I realize I do not understand the cultural and/or historical significance of a situation. This lack of deep cultural context can be both positive and negative to this study. While I come to this topic out of pure curiosity as an outsider to the system, I do not have the deeply rooted biases that a Finnish researcher might possess. On the other hand, I lack some of the taken-for-granted cultural cues that might have limited my interpretation of the data.

CHAPTER 4

CONTEXT & COLLECTIVE ACTORS

This chapter presents contextual elements to better understand the history behind the Finnish tuition pilot program. National policy changes and drivers of these changes are explored to explain how the issue of tuition evolved from a taboo topic to a policy instrument. The research question guiding this chapter is: Why has Finland introduced a five-year pilot program to collect student tuition fees for students outside the European Union (EU)? Central to answering this question, the actors in the sample are introduced and their role in the strategic action field (SAF) is described as a 20-year history unfolds (see Appendix A for timelines of chronological events).

The theoretical frameworks of SAFs and academic capitalism facilitate analysis and understanding of this shift towards collecting tuition fees from international students. The 20-year history leading up to the introduction of the pilot program and European influences sheds light on how the strategic actors in the SAF gradually move the narrative from a cooperative mantra to more of a competitive mantra, towards the academic capitalist regime. Finnish scholars have used the academic capitalism framework to demonstrate an increasing trend towards market and market-like activities to generate external funds (Ylijoki, 2003; Kauppinen & Kaidesoja, forthcoming). Kauppinen & Kaidesoja (forthcoming) argue that over the past decade Finland has gradually transitioned to academic capitalism in terms of policy and discourse, however actual HE practices have yet to transition (e.g. volume of patents, tuition, etc.). The authors note that while Finland has shifted towards the academic capitalism regime, it has not replaced the public good regime, with one example being the absence of tuition fees. Since this chapter explores the historic turn towards introducing tuition in Finland, academic capitalism provides a fruitful framework to analyze narratives and discourses “that justify and normalize these changes” (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2012, p. 587). Yet the resistance movement to tuition tempers this shift. This chapter also introduces and analyzes the collective actors vying for control and their accompanying roles (challengers, incumbents, and governance units) within the SAF.

Introducing the Collective Strategic Actors

The SAF in this study is defined as the Finnish higher education (HE) system. Specifically, this study analyzes how some actors in the SAF have shaped the contentious, politically sensitive, and on-going debate over tuition fees in Finland from the 1990s to present time (December 2012). The field of Finnish HE reforms has traditionally been dominated by actors from the Ministry of Education, academic trade unions, political parties, student union, and even national industry organizations (Välimaa, 2012). There is not one central power in the SAF but instead many actors who take on different positions according to the various reforms and issues that emerge (J. Välimaa, personal communication, Nov. 9, 2012). The sample in this study does not represent all of the actors in the SAF. Of the sample, primarily national level respondents and some university administrators and student union representatives provide detailed information concerning the evolution of the political process. These respondents are among the key actors in the SAF: the governance units (national bureaucrats), the challengers (some university administrators, some governance unit members, and a few academic staff members) and the incumbents (student union and a number of academic staff).

First, the SAF government units (national bureaucrats) are internal to the field and their main task is to oversee compliance, implementation, and smooth functioning of the HE system. In the case of the tuition fee pilot program they communicated the decision to the higher education institutions (HEIs), selected the HEIs to participate in the pilot, organized the call for programs in selected HEIs to participate in the pilot, encouraged HEIs to select high quality international degree masters' programs (IDMPs), and created an evaluation group. Yet, even within the government unit that Fligstein & McAdam (2011) consider a conservative field typically reinforcing the dominant logic, the discourse of some national bureaucrats portrays tuition fees as an inevitable future funding mechanism. One government unit respondent explains, "Well, I am afraid it [tuition] will come" (National Level). This particular respondent frames tuition as an unavoidable force, discourse that supports the challengers' movement. Overall, however, the actors in the governance units attempt to remain neutral although their connection with challengers, such as the university administrators in the SAF and wider field environment, influence their discourse.

Second, classified as challengers to the status quo, this heterogeneous group of actors (including some university administrators, governance unit actors in the sample, and a few academic staff members) believe that collecting tuition fees for international degree students is the best course of action for the financial sustainability of Finnish HE. They align with the academic capitalism regime in the way they advocate the diversification of funding, including the introduction of tuition fees. They hold power in the field because of their decision making positions in HEIs and their positions in the Ministry. However, due to the politically sensitive nature of advocating tuition in Finland the challengers in this sample are not as publicly organized as the incumbents; most of their lobbying occurs behind closed doors, in policy reports, meetings, and working groups. Some challengers speak to how their own personal views on tuition fees have changed over time, from being incumbents opposed to tuition fees, shifting now to challengers.

> In the beginning of my career and for many years, I was very much against that [tuition fees]. I've come to change my mind and it has to do with the fact that I believe very much that we need more international students on campus; the absolute number and the relative share of international students should be increased at the universities. I think for Finland it would not be easily accepted and we would decrease the number of domestic students. We already admit less than 20% and in some areas far less than 10% of domestic applicants. If we decrease that and offset that by admitting more international students, I think there would be quite an uproar. I don't think that it's socially sustainable that way. So, the only alternative in my mind is we cannot just keep admitting more and more students and expecting the quality of teaching to remain at a high level. The only alternative in my mind is that you need additional resources; I don't see any other way but the introduction of fees. It would also create positive stimulus to develop teaching courses and programs in English. *–University Administrator*

Many challengers in the sample have been involved in the SAF for most of their career, thus they are familiar with the history, strategic actors, and the changing nature of HE. Although they have been active in the SAF, they have not always assumed a challenger role. Over time, as they have observed and participated in HE reforms and been influenced by the changes in the broader field environment, they have come to view tuition as the next logical step in HE reforms. Another element reinforcing the challengers' position in the field is the broader field environment, specifically the supranational influences of the EU, European University Association (EUA), Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and other European countries. Most of these influences challenge the status quo of a tuition-free HE system allowing challengers in the Finnish SAF to strategically borrow the discourse and to make use of supranational opportunities that open up the possibility for tuition fees.

The third group of respondents, the student union[14], holds a unique position in the history of Finland and the tuition fee debate. They represent a collective group of actors in the opposition movement against tuition fees (incumbents). Student unions have a long history of

[14] In this study, the term "student union" refers to both the SYL and the individual HEI student unions. It is important to note, however, that there are distinct differences between these two organizations. The SYL is registered as a legal "voluntary" association and its members include individual HEI student unions. The individual HEI student unions are autonomous legal entities with mandatory membership for enrolled students (A. Aniluoto, personal communication, Oct. 25, 2012).

maintaining a strong voice in the national HE policy arena: “Student unions are very powerful and when they lobby they have a heavy impact within each political party” (National Level). The National Union of University Students in Finland (SYL) was founded a few years after Finland’s independence in 1921 by the Helsinki University and Åbo Akademi student unions (Suomen Ylioppilaskuntien Liitto, 2012). Through the years both the SYL and the HEI student unions have been instrumental in advocating for continued student welfare (health insurance, housing, and grants for domestic students[15]). Over the years the student union has become professionalized as the organizational structure models after the Finnish parliament with some elected members and other members acting as employees who are paid as full-time staff members. The student union culture reinvents itself as many representatives graduate to become leaders in the national government and the corporate world, thus paying the same respect to upcoming student union representatives. In a way, the student union is a national breeding ground for future politicians, government officials, and industry leaders.

> Student organizations [student unions] are very strong in Finland; they are very influential. Very many ministers and directors of big companies and members of parliament are former student politicians. For instance director of Nokia is a former chair and very many ministers had been active in national student policy and that makes the organization very powerful. I think that members of parliament or even ministries listen sometimes more to student organization [Union] than Rector’s conference or professors union. *–National Level*

The tradition of involving the student union voice in the political process continues to this day. Most Ministry working groups and calls for comments on legislative and government actions involve representatives from the national student union.

> We usually have a lot of representatives in different groups in government working groups. We usually get [asked to participate], when government is asking for

[15] A government financed grant is available for all Finnish students (and permanent Finnish residents) to supplement the cost of their studies and housing while attaining HE. Grants are not based on need or merit. The 2012 study grant amount for students studying in HEIs is EU €298/month and the maximum housing supplement, which is meant to cover 80% of the rent, is EU €201.60/month (Kela, 2012).

> pronouncements from different stakeholders. We are usually one of them [the stakeholders] when there's some kind of proposal to legislation or some kind of decree issued. So, we are participating in the process. *–Student Union*

Overall, the student union has a strong voice because there is a long tradition of the Parliament and the government inviting their voice to be heard. In the SAF, "the rules of the field tend to favor them, and shared meanings tend to legitimate and support their privileged position" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 13). Altbach (1989) argues that when student activism is "traditionally accepted as a legitimate element of the political system it is more likely that activism will have an impact on the society" (p.100).

From a comparative analysis of student politics, Meyer & Rubinson (1972) argue that national social processes influence a high level of student politicization. They claim that there are three reasons students are politically active in certain nation-states. First, the social status of "student" is defined within the society and political system, thus this symbolic definition leads to increased political behavior. In the Finnish context, students bear a social status that may be considered privileged as they are afforded government subsidies, discounts on travel, and the student union has a sustained voice in the higher education political arena. Second, when an education system is both institutionalized and regulated at the national level, naturally the student status becomes more normalized. In Finland, the student union has grown with the institutionalization of higher education. The student union is central to the institutional decision-making structure as they hold seats on many university boards and there is a common agreement that they take care of most student welfare issues. Third, nation-building processes lead to educational systems being used as the vehicle for defining citizenship and students as the social elite. Since the 19th century, higher education has been a vital institution in the formation of the Finnish national identity and nation-building project (Välimaa, 2004; 2012). After World War II, education became an essential aspect of the welfare-state agenda thus inciting educational equality as a national core value.

Other respondents (university staff and academic staff) not as familiar with the details of the national level politics and processes comment mostly on the implementation of the pilot program rather than on the history or the political process leading to the pilot program. While some of these respondents openly take a stance in the tuition debate, most do not participate in the national political process to influence legislative reforms. However, the unions they belong to are more active in the political process. No union leaders were interviewed in this study. Since the tuition pilot program was part of the 2009 University Act reforms, in some ways it was overshadowed by larger and more pressing issues, especially for academic staff. In particular, the academic staff union was engaged in their own struggle against the proposed changes to the university board composition. Nevertheless, there are academic staff members who join the incumbents or challengers movement as they make a decision to participate in the tuition pilot program.

It is important to note that no politicians were interviewed; therefore the following description captures only the national level narrative surrounding the politics and in no way attempts to outline the comprehensive political process. This section does not serve to be all encompassing of events, policy linkages, discussions, and influences, but rather aims to portray the story as told by the HE policy actors in this study. Rather, this section serves as a foundation to better understand why a tuition fee pilot program for international students has been introduced into the Finnish HE system.

Context: 20-year Narrative

This section highlights the events, discussions, and influences that led to the tuition fee pilot program in 2010. The triangulation of data from interviews, policy documents, and newspaper and academic articles encapsulates the context leading up to the introduction of tuition fees. The narrative covers a 20-year period, beginning in the early 1990s. While scholars recognize the history of the Finnish HE system as a nation-building institution (Välimaa, 2004), within the last two decades it has opened up to international influences. Specifically, international cooperation has increased by sending domestic (Finnish) students and scholars abroad and receiving international students and scholars. Yet, the sending and receiving of Finnish and non-Finnish students and scholars did not occur simultaneously. The genesis of international cooperation in the 1990s corresponded to Finland joining the EU and resulted in more domestic students studying in other European countries. At the turn of the century the perspective changed and the Finnish borders opened up to receive more international students. The national drive for internationalization efforts led to the development of more IDMPs allowing for a greater capacity of international degree students.

1990s: International Cooperation & Sending Finns Abroad

Before the 1990s HE internationalization efforts were limited in Finland (Hölttä & Malkki, 2000). It was not until the 1990s when HE internationalization gained momentum in the form of international cooperation and exchanges. At the same time, the early 1990s proved to be a turbulent time as the Finnish HE system underwent significant economic changes wherein the national development strategy and role of HE and research was redefined. While most of the Finnish HE massification efforts occurred from the 1950s to the 1980s, the last phase of expansion took place in the 1990s with the establishment of the polytechnic sector (Välimaa, 2012). At the same time, Finland experienced a deep recession from 1990 to 1992 leading to high unemployment (20%) and heavy budget cuts in HEIs (Hölttä, 2011). Even though education and knowledge were the cornerstone of the new economic development plan (Hölttä & Malkki, 2000), the HE national budget continued to shrink after the recession. The share of public funding by the Ministry of Education decreased by 19% between 1990 and 1999 (from 84% to 65%) (Välimaa, 2004).

During this turbulent time of financial recession, landmark legislation was proposed in 1992 to begin collecting tuition fees beginning January 1, 1993 (Chancellor of Justice, 1992). Tuition fees would have been collected from enrolled students studying longer than 7 years. The proposed fees were 1,000 Finnish marks per academic year. The SYL appealed the decision (on the basis of violating the Equality Act and the legislative right to self-governance and autonomy of the University of Helsinki). After the indecisive but divided deliberations of the Finnish attorney general in this matter, the proposal was eventually dismantled in the Parliament, based on the recommendation of the Parliament's Education and Culture Committee. This demonstrates that incumbents and challengers were vying for control in the tuition debate as early as the 1990s. The student union assumed the incumbent role in protecting educational equality through free tuition.

As HE budgets decreased and tuition fees were debated, international cooperation increased with Finland looking outside its national borders. Before joining the EU, as a member of European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Finland participated in EU programs (Comett II from 1990 and Erasmus from 1992) encouraging international cooperation aimed at opening European borders for the transfer of knowledge, people, and skills (Nokkala, 2007). Comett II promoted knowledge transfer between universities and industry through student training placements and university staff fellowships (Europa.eu, 2012) and the Erasmus program facilitated the mobility of students and teachers to live, study, and teach in European countries other than their home countries. With these new European cooperative agreements and programs there was a need for a national coordinating agency. Thus, in 1991 the Centre for International Mobility (CIMO), an independent agency under the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, was established. The agency's "main task is to promote international cooperation and mobility in with specific emphasis on education, training, working life, culture and young people" (CIMO, 2012a). In 1995 Finland officially joined the EU as a Member Country and became more integrated into the global market. Cooperation within the European HE region continued and in June 1999 Finland joined 28 other countries in signing the Bologna Declaration aimed at removing obstacles to the free movement of students and knowledge. The Bologna Process created the European HE Area (EHEA), an HE area based on cooperation and academic exchange, and also facilitated national reform of comparable degree programs and a regional credit system, the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). The "external dimension" of the Bologna Process sets out to make the EHEA a more attractive study location for incoming students.

With the joining of the EU came a national shift in perspective as Finnish universities began to open up to the idea of international cooperation and exchange (Höltaa & Malkki, 2000), resulting in sending more Finnish students to study abroad.

> Internationalization of education, or internationalization, as a whole, in the beginning was all about exchanges. It coincided with the EU membership and the opening up of the Finnish economy. And it was mostly about Europe. Before then, it was about exchange perhaps in the neighboring countries. But then in 1992, the European programs opened for us and in 1995, we became European members of the European Union. So, there was a big boom for exchanges. *–University Administrator*

During the 1990s, at the national level there was not much discussion about tuition fees for international students, as most of the emphasis and discussion was based on developing the basic infrastructure for internationalization efforts. As one national respondent explains, “In the very beginning we didn’t really discuss the need for any tuition fees for foreigners because we felt the urgent need first to develop international activities and services in universities for international students; so tuition was not a burning issue.” But as Finland became more fully integrated into the global economy, the HE internationalization efforts increased and the cooperation mantra gradually shifted at the end of the decade.

> In the 1990’s, at least from the Finnish perspective, international activities were considered to have cooperation [in the form of] outgoing student mobility. If you look at the ministerial documents at that time they always have a starting point that we were sending Finnish students abroad and nobody was coming here (I exaggerate a little bit), but only in limited numbers. Cooperation was the word and programs like Erasmus and all the exchange programs were popular. But now in 2000 onwards (maybe late 1990’s) the emphasis shifted a little bit towards degree students and it has been continuing like that. *–National Level*

2000s: Emphasis on Recruiting International Degree Students

A change came in the internationalization of Finnish HE in the 2000s. There was an increase in the creation of English language masters’ programs (Weimer, 2012) and an overall increase in the number of international degree seeking students. From the early 2000s to 2010 the total number of international degree students in Finland nearly tripled (see Figure 1) from 6,372 in 2000 to 15,707 in 2010. Also this figure illustrates how in 2010 the number of international degree students in both the polytechnic sector, University of Applied Sciences (UAS), and the university sector were almost equally distributed.

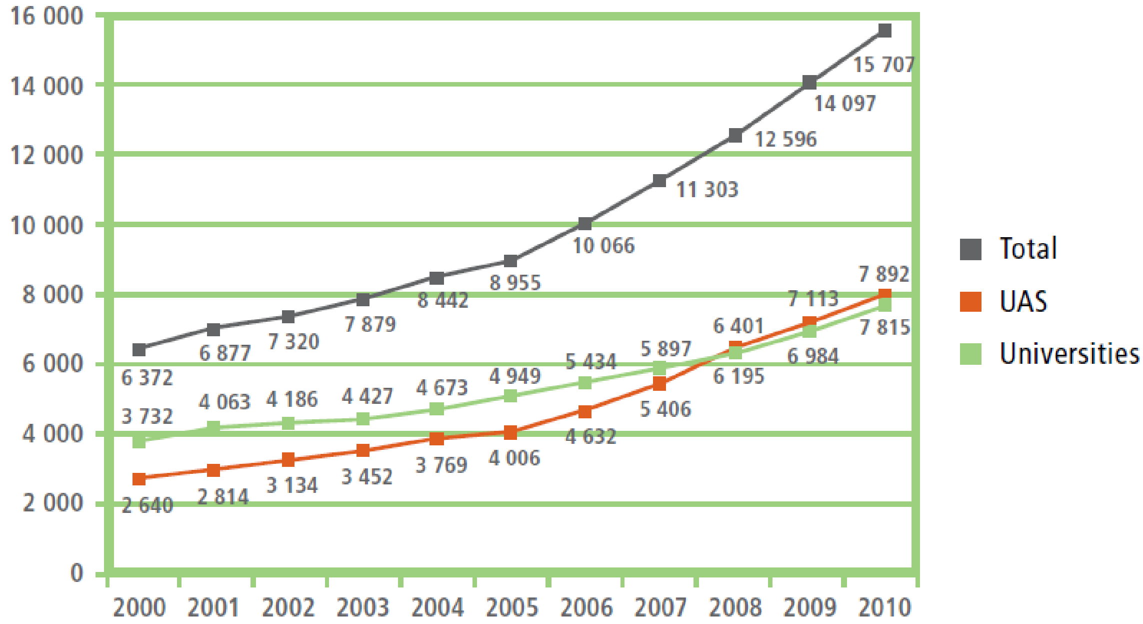

Figure 1 International Degree Student Growth in Finland, 2000-2010

Note: From CIMO (2011). Key Figures: Internationalization in Finnish Higher Education.

Increase in International Degree Students

At the turn of the century, with the prevalent European discourse on economic development and the knowledge economy in the Lisbon Agenda (European Parliament, 2000), the national Finnish discussion began to consider the financial implications of the increase in international degree students. One student union respondent explains how the discourse in Finland shifted to language emblematic of the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime, "I think there was a kind of mental turn in the beginning of 2000, the ideology of this knowledge-economy penetrated all the [Finnish] HE discourse*…"* (Student Union). The question of, 'Who pays for the international degree students?' became a topic that was discussed and debated regularly. In a tuition-free HE system, the society pays for the cost of education through taxes. For some users, (especially international students who do not necessarily pay taxes in Finland) HE may appear to be free of cost. But, the taxpayers know that HE is not free as one national respondent explains, “There’s always this [discussion] that there is no free education, that [someone pays] and if numbers of foreign students are growing then they should pay” (National Level). Thus, as the national discussion evolved and included the cost of HE and who is paying for it, the taboo topic of tuition was eventually brought back into the conversation.

> I think that the atmosphere in Finland has changed. Because we have more international students we talk more about the cost of internationalization and since we talk about the cost, somebody always asks, ‘Who is paying for this?’ The answer is, ‘the taxpayers.’ Then begins the discussion of whether this is right or wrong and then somebody introduces tuition fees into the discussion. –*National Level*

In the 2000s universities and UAS began competing for international degree students. There was a sudden need to establish academic capitalism infrastructure to attract and provide services for international degree students. There was even discourse about making HE an export industry. The cooperation narrative was changing into a competitive and economic narrative.

> The political discussions focus on degree students and more and more on recruiting foreign students to Finland. So I think there is big thinking behind [this] that has changed and maybe it has to do with more of an economic rationale, from cooperation to economical thinking. At least some politicians who want [the tuition fee pilot program] they would like to see this as an export industry. –*National Level*

2005 Tuition Committee

By the mid-2000s the challengers in the SAF were gaining position in the national discourse surrounding the internationalization of HE. The national discussion began to consider seriously the economic value and competitive advantage of recruiting international degree students. With this came a curiosity about the wider international education market and the ability to attract external revenue.

> Then we thought that perhaps also international cooperation is not just academic cooperation but it could be used for other purposes [e.g. external revenue]. So to strengthen the Finnish position in the higher education global market, because that was the time when we really started to discuss the education market, there was a need to make our universities more professional in international activities so that they [universities]

> would take seriously the need to recruit international students. In 2005, there was really a very serious political discussion about this. –*National Level*

In February of 2005 the Minister of Education, Tuula Haatainen, announced the creation of a Ministry committee to investigate the possibility of introducing tuition fees for non-EU students (Helsingin Sanomat, 2005a). Shortly thereafter, a 10-member committee was named and the objectives of the committee were made public: to study tuition practices in other EU and EEA countries, to assess the advantages and disadvantages of collecting tuition fees from non-EU students in Finland, to explore grant and scholarship programs, and to draft recommendations for the government (Helsingin Sanomat, 2005b; Ministry of Education 2005). Six months later the committee's study and recommendations to collect partial tuition fees from non-EU students were made public (Helsingin Sanomat, 2005c). The report began by discussing relevant EU educational policy (EM program and Lisbon Strategy) and then reported on tuition fee policy developments in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, France, Holland, Great Britain, Ireland, Estonia, and Latvia. In addition, the report also addressed financial aid, scholarships, internationalization, and the cost of education to name just a few other sections. The committee recommendations called for universities and UAS to collect international student tuition fees beginning in the 2007-08 academic year with the Ministry developing a scholarship program and a graduation tuition tax program (Helsingin Sanomat, 2005b; Ministry of Education, 2005). The final recommendations included:

> 1.) Suggesting tuition fees amounts ranging from €3,500 to €12,000 per academic year depending upon the field of study; humanities and social science programs would be on the lower range of tuition fees and fields such as medicine and arts would be on the higher range of tuition fees.
> 2.) A five-year scholarship program was recommended in tandem with the tuition fees funded by the Ministry of Education, Finnish National Fund for Research and Development (SITRA), and Finnish industries. These scholarships would be made available to both highly-skilled international degree students and students from developing countries.

> 3.) Developing a model to deduct tuition fees from taxes if the international student stays in Finland and participates in the labor market after graduation.

One national respondent explains how this idea to collect partial fees would be a “good idea”:

> There was also discussion how private companies could be approached to fund these scholarships programs or co-fund them. The idea at that time was that there would not be full fees but partial fees and I think the range was something like 5 -12,000. Which would be a good idea, in my opinion--the introduction of partial fees as opposed to introduction of full fees right from the get go--because what you saw in Denmark and what you see now in Sweden, if you do [introduce full fees] than you have a couple of years of declining number of applications. *–National Level*

Up until the creation of the Ministry’s tuition committee, the tuition fee discussion in Finland was described as a “taboo” topic by some respondents. “The tuition fees in Finland had been such a taboo that the idea had not been entertained until…I think it was in 2004 -5, [or] thereabouts when the Ministry came up with a proposal to introduce fees and to set up two distinct scholarship programs, one for developing countries and one general one” (National Level). Not only did the 2005 tuition committee open the doors for more dialogue on an otherwise controversial and rarely discussed topic; it was also seen as a natural progression in HE policy. A national level respondent explains that the 2005 tuition committee led to the “first very serious discussion [about tuition fees]…I think that it was a very natural continuation for the internationalization policy of higher education” (National Level).

During the six-month tuition committee investigation, the main resistance against introducing tuition fees, the student union, conducted their own investigation. Student union representatives at five Finnish universities banded together to examine the tuition fee peril from an international degree student perspective. In the spring of 2005 they conducted a study “to gather up-to-date information on issues relevant for foreign degree students, namely how they perceive the study environment, i.e. academic guidance, courses available in English and student support services” (Kärki, 2005, p. 8). With the possibility of the tuition fees being introduced for international degree students, the student union sought out evidence from their constituency that this policy change would impact the most. Although the student union admittedly opposed tuition fees, they also wanted to represent the views of international degree students in the tuition debate. In the final report, the student union presented their rationale for gathering perspectives from international degree students:

> Due to the fact that foreign degree students constitute a relatively small portion of the total student body, and to the heterogeneity of the foreign student population, foreign degree students are often overshadowed by both Finnish degree students and foreign exchange students. In many student unions foreign degree students are not represented in the student councils, and there are no or only a few links between the foreign degree students and the student representatives. Lack of knowledge of the foreign degree students' situation and needs has made it difficult for the student unions to represent them and provide them with relevant services. Oftentimes this lack of knowledge can also been seen in the university administration and in the Finnish society as a whole (Kärki, 2005, p. 8).

In addition to findings related to employment and social and academic integration, the student union asked a few survey questions concerning tuition and whether free education attracted them to study in Finland. The student unions analyzed the findings according to their "interpretive frame" that reflects their position in the SAF and "encapsulates their self-serving view of the field" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p.11). The findings supported their position on tuition fees:

> Even though 40% of the students would be ready to pay something for their education, the sums the students would be prepared to pay are so small that they would cover only a very insignificant part of the cost of their studies. Many students felt strongly about the matter and chose to give comments on the issue not only where it was asked, but also at the end of the questionnaire. The students felt that they are in Finland because of free education and this is the reason why they feel the Finnish system is appealing. It seems that many think that Finland would not be able to recruit highly motivated and skilled students if they would have to pay for their studies. It can therefore be concluded, that tuition fees are indeed a matter of great concern to students and they are interested to state their opinion when the Finnish government decides on the future of the higher education in Finland (Kärki, 2005, p. 55).

In addition to maintaining a legitimate voice in the political process, the student union's position against tuition fees is known throughout the SAF. While their voice is heard, the student union is known for their opposition to tuition fees in Finland. Even the challengers speak openly about the student union's position in the field and their rationale against tuition. Generally there is consensus among incumbents and challengers that incumbents have power in the SAF because of their historical position.

> Of course, students have a big voice in this society also and Finnish students are quite against this [tuition fees]. Especially because there is a fear that if we start to introduce fees for our non-EU student then eventually it will mean we have fees for our Finnish students as well. And, free education is like I said something that is very valued (equality) and what it implies. –*University Administrator*

Incumbents yield influence in the field because their view is the dominant logic in the field; "rules tend to favor them and shared meanings tend to legitimate and support their privileged position within the field" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, p. 12). The student union members are incumbents because their historically respected role in Finnish HE policy-making gives them a level of control and credibility in protecting the status quo of educational equality. Their historical stance protecting tuition-free education (e.g. opposition to the 1992 proposed legislation to introduce tuition fees for Finnish students) continues to be reproduced and respected in the field.

2005-2007: Pre-Elections Political Standstill

After the 2005 tuition recommendations for partial tuition fees, preparations and political posturing began heating up for the March 2007 elections. Politicians began to position themselves with the various interests and developed their platforms by taking stands on specific issues. The tuition fee debate was in full swing and politicians faced the future consequences of their stance on tuition fees. As this respondent explains, from 2005 to the 2007 elections there was a political standstill on the tuition issue.

> I think the first idea to introduce fees was a good one and a well-founded one but then first of all the economy started to go south, so to speak. Also the proximity of the general elections of 2007 came into play because the politicians who had yet to ratify this [tuition] proposal from the Ministry of Education thought that they would lose in the elections basically if they favored the introduction of fees. So, for a few years it was taken off the table. The pilot scheme was introduced as a sort of political compromise to appease basically the green party which has a very strong constituency amongst students and students' organizations [student unions]. *–National Level*

The Genesis of the Tuition Fee Pilot Program: Political Non-consensus and Compromise

As the interviews suggest and the documents support, the tuition pilot program was born in a political environment of non-consensus and compromise over the issue of tuition fees. The national newspaper ran an article titled, "Parties sharply divided on tuition fees for foreign university students: Centre supports, Greens oppose fees" (Helsingin Sanomat, 2007). The article explains how two political parties in the coalition government were divided on the tuition issue. The Centre Party[16] favors tuition fees for international students as a way for HEIs to bring in more revenue, whereas the Green Party[17] opposes the fees because they think tuition discourages international students from choosing Finland as an HE destination. The 2007 election resulted in politicians having different political positions on tuition fees for non-EU students. This non-consensus led to a compromise resulting in the creation of a tuition pilot

[16] The Centre Party is a popular political party within the nine parties represented in Finland. The main platform of this party is the decentralization of government and the representation of rural communities outside of Helsinki. In 2007, the Centre Party won 51 seats out of 200. It was one of four parties including the National Coalition Party, the Green League and the Swedish People's Party of Finland, that formed a majority coalition government.

[17] The Green Party philosophy aims to "safeguard the future" of Finland through such platforms as environmental responsibility, an economy of moderation, and equality and participation of the people (Parliament of Finland, 2012). In 2007, the Green Party (15 seats elected) was one of four parties creating the majority coalition government.

program. Many respondents speak to how the Green party’s stance against tuition fees was a significant impediment in the coalition government’s tuition negotiation.

> My understanding is that in 2007 in the negotiations where the government was formed the coalition party wanted to introduce tuition fees for everyone in Finland, but the Green [party] was against it. The tuition trial for international students was some kind of compromise as a result of that. *–Student Union*

Since there was non-consensus on tuition fees, a compromise during negotiations resulted in a trial program. A typical reform strategy used in Finland called, “learning by experimenting” begins with a pilot experiment and then gradually expands to the entire HE system (Välimaa, 1994). A few respondents describe this typical political process in Finland when there is non-consensus on an issue; compromises usually lead to the creation of working groups or trial-period testing.

> When the Ministry was supposed to take action in the introduction of tuition fees for third country nationals the political consensus just wasn’t there. Partly we are now in this situation with the experimentation of the trial period because there seemed to be different views within different political parties about this question. So then the very common way, obviously, is to either to set up a working group or then to have a kind of trial experimentation. *–National Level*

> There was this clear political non-consensus about it [tuition fees]. It is easy to try to solve a difficult political problem [with] some kind of experiment. *–National Level*

The challengers had mixed reactions to the legislation because of the pre-conditions (only a five-year pilot program). The challengers wanted to collect tuition fees without legislative obstacles. One respondent describes the mixed reactions from university rectors (challengers):

> I mentioned there are some Rectors who have a very strong position that we should not have this trial but [we should] start to collect fees from all outside EU, because they think it is a waste of time and energy to try and try and try. That is one strong position among Rectors on the other hand other Rectors that think that this is an excellent opportunity to try and get experience and start with a smaller numbers and so that is very strong opposite groups among Rectors.*–National Level*

Scholarship Compromise

The compromise resulted in a five-year pilot program in which only designated IDMPs could participate. Part of the "compromise" stipulated that a mandatory scholarship program be created in tandem with the tuition-based IDMPs. The student union, although opposing the tuition fee pilot program all together, realized at some point that they were losing ground to the challengers. If a tuition fee experiment was implemented, they needed to continue to protect the status quo of educational equality. Thus, in the negotiations they conceded that if a tuition experiment was created then a mandatory scholarship program should be a part of the experiment.

> The scholarship program that is now attached to the trial is pretty much put into the legislation by us [the student union]. I think the main argument was that if you start collecting fees without any kind of scholarship program, the tuition fees will deter the persons coming from lower socio-economic background, I think that's the main argument. The position of the union is that Finland should still be able to recruit all the best talent (the normal speech [discourse] of the knowledge economy). There might be talent that is in the lower socio-economic level and we should be able to tap those talents as well. –*Student Union*

Thus, the compromise led to a tuition pilot with a "needs-based" scholarship program which was officially announced after the 2007 elections. April 19, 2007 Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen was re-elected for a second term and in the second cabinet's government statement to the parliament says:

> A national internationalisation strategy will be devised for higher education in order to increase the international mobility of students, teachers and researchers. Contract education abroad will be made possible. A trial will be carried out in which universities and other higher education institutions can apply for authorisation for individual Master's programmes to collect tuition fees from students who come from outside the EU/ETA area. The trial will include a scholarship programme for low-income foreign students. The results of the trial will be evaluated before changes are made in the system (Prime Minister's Office, 2007, p. 28).

Following the government's statement the official Development Plan for Education and Research, published every four years, also included the tuition pilot program with mention of the "needs-based" scholarship program as well as an evaluation process. December 7, 2007 the government released the five-year Government Development Plan for Education and Research (Ministry of Education, 2007). This document states,

> Higher education institutions will enhance cooperation to develop the export of competence within their areas of expertise. The collection of tuition fees will be piloted with students coming from outside the EU and EEA in international second-cycle study programmes leading to a higher education degree. The pilot project will include a scholarship system for foreign students of limited means. Criteria will be prepared for the tuition pilot project in order to evaluate its success and to decide whether the collection of tuition fees should be continued or stopped (p. 44).

Although the "needs-based" scholarship appeared in the Development Plan, the "needs-based" phrase never made it in the actual wording of the legislation. The English translated version of the University Act 2009 states, "The charging of fees shall be conditional on the university having a scholarship programme which can be used to support, where necessary, the studies of students participating in fee-charging Master's programmes." The "needs-based" scholarships that the student union advocated for during the negotiation phase turned into simply a "scholarship programme" not specified for lower socio-economical students. A national level respondent explains,

> It's up to the programs and universities to decide [if the scholarships were needs or merit based]. That's actually one issue we talked about a lot before launching this trial. But then we ended up letting the universities and polytechnics decide because we wanted to know what could be the best practice in this field. *–National Level*

Evaluation Working Group

In addition to the scholarship program, as mentioned in the 2007 cabinet's government statement to the Parliament and the 2007 Development Plan, the pilot program includes an assessment "to evaluate its success and to decide whether the collection of tuition fees should be continued or stopped" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 44). In October 2009, the Ministry appointed a 10-member working group chaired by an academic staff member from a Finnish university and a secretary for a five-year term (Ministry of Education, 2010). The composition of the working group includes HE stakeholders such as Ministry representatives, HEI leaders and administrators, CIMO staff, Finnish HE Evaluation Council (FINHEEC) staff, and representatives from the national student unions. According to the documents, the working group is responsible for establishing evaluation criteria, collecting data, evaluating results of the pilot program and the program objectives, and writing a final report in 2014 on the impact of the experiment on HE international activities (Ministry of Education, 2010). On December 15, 2011 the five-year Government Development Plan for Education and Research (Ministry of Education, 2011a) again mentions the tuition pilot program, but gives no indication of tuition fees in the future as it only references the evaluation of the program:

> Educational exports will be promoted. The pilot system of tuition fees charged to Students from non-EU and non ETA countries will be evaluated. The evaluation will look into the effect of the fees on the internationalization and attraction of Finnish higher education and on the quality of education given in foreign languages (p. 50).

External Influences

Although Finland is a small country, it is not an isolated island. It is a country both surrounded and influenced by neighboring countries as well as the European region as a whole. One academic staff respondent speaks to external influences and how the Finnish government seeks out other international models to benchmark from, “The [Parliament and Ministry] think that they [need to] copy international models” (Academic Staff). Not only is Finland benchmarking from the broader field environment, but the national policy discourse now acknowledges the need for new policy instruments to operate in an international environment. In January 2009, the Ministry of Education released the “Strategy for the Internationalization of Finnish Higher Education 2009-2015.” Within this document the tuition pilot program was mentioned as a “tool” to operate in an international environment:

> Reform of the Universities Act aims at consolidating the economic and administrative position of the universities, which would provide the universities with better prerequisites for operating in an international operating environment. Made-to-order education leading to a qualification and fee-based Master's degree programmes for students from outside the EU/EEA area are new tools for the internationalization of higher education (p. 23).

Fligstein and McAdam (2011) claim that SAFs are embedded within a broader field environment and in order to understand conflict and change in a field then one must look beyond the internal workings of that field. SAFs are not self-contained, but rather they operate in a larger interdependent field environment where they are influenced by the constraints and opportunities of the field's dynamics. Changes in the broader field environment have a tendency to send "rolling ripples outward to all proximate fields" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 19). From this departure point, we consider the larger field environment in which the Finnish HE system operates. For the purposes of this dissertation the broader field environment is not exhausted, but rather it focuses on two fields that are repeatedly mentioned by respondents: supranational organizations (EU and OECD) and the Nordic countries.

European & OECD Influences

The Finnish political economy, society, and culture are embedded within the European context (Nokkala, 2007). European policy and programs impact Finnish HE as funding opportunities and discourse trickles down to national policy making. Respondents acknowledge that Finland models after other European countries; "I think we want to follow the example of other bigger European countries" (Academic Staff). The national level respondents who are familiar with the regional European discourse discuss the need to "diversify income" and bring in additional streams of external revenue. This type of discourse is inherent in the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime and parallels the discourse at the EU level.

> There were the examples and pressures from abroad of course. There's a clear political background at the European level, the modernization agenda of the European Union and

> similar national agendas where I think the general policy seems to be that higher education institutions are encouraged to diversify their financial resources. –*National Level*

> We, as government, have tried to emphasize that there are other ways of funding your operations than government funding. There is also private funding, private money somewhere. One way of collecting this private money is, of course, charging tuition fees. –*National Level*

In this sense, the changes at the European level, in terms of advocating for the diversification of income, can be felt at the national Finnish level. The government unit, responsible for mediating the discourse from the supranational level to the national level, borrows from the supranational discourse. When national level respondents are asked what influences led to the tuition fee pilot program, one respondent claims that the European supranational level is responsible for encouraging academic capitalism behavior. "This [idea of] education as an export and education business comes from the European Union; education is no longer a public good but it is a business" (National Level). For the government unit, placing the blame (for these larger academic capitalistic changes) elsewhere allows the government unit to sustain what looks like a neutral stance in the SAF.

In addition to discourse coming from the European region, OECD also plays a role in the broader field environment causing change pressures at the national level. Every two years OECD releases an Economic Survey for Member Countries. Since 2004, the OECD surveys include recommendations for the introduction of tuition fees for both international and domestic students studying in Finland (OECD 2004; OECD 2006; OECD 2008; OECD 2010b; OECD 2012a). In 2006, the recommendations promoting tuition fees followed the market-oriented discourse emphasizing "supply" and "demand" and international competiveness:

> Tuition fees would make students' demands for education attentive to the quality and subjects being offered, with subsequent effects on their supply. Similarly, higher education institutions would have clearer incentives to make their programmes more

> responsive to international demand if it became standard practice to charge all foreign students coming to Finland in pursuit of a partial or full degree (OECD, 2006, p. 57).

In 2012, next to the 2010 structural reform recommendation to "introduce tuition fees together with an income contingent loan system that covers tuition fees and living expenses," the tuition pilot program is listed as a response (OECD, 2012a, p. 28). Strategic actors in the field are aware of these recommendations, especially the incumbents, as one student union respondent explains, "OECD papers are always thrusting how to find more funding and the way that they see to progress is to have tuition fees" (Student Union).

While discourse at the supranational level impacts the national tuition narrative, so do the EU sponsored programs in which Finland participates. Throughout the interviews, respondents at all levels (e.g. national level, student union, university administrators, and even academic staff) mention one particular European program that has influenced the tuition fee discussion in Finland, the Erasmus Mundus (EM) program. One national respondent describes the EM program as an impetus for the introduction of tuition fees in Finland; "I think that we have to blame or thank Erasmus Mundus Program partly because that has been one of the drivers for these [tuition] changes" (National Level). A university staff member describes how the EM program opened up the discussion about tuition fees in Finland, "I think this discussion [introduction of tuition fees] has been going on in Europe for many years; I think [Erasmus] Mundus programs brought it up more and more" (University Staff).

In 2004, the EU launched a new scholarship-based program for non-EU graduate students calling it the EM program (European Parliament, 2003). As part of the Lisbon Strategy, EM was created to modernize European graduate education, compete with other leading knowledge economies for global talent and, at the same time, further the European HE harmonization agenda. The stated aim of the program was to increase the attractiveness and quality of European

HE by creating distinctively European joint degree masters' and PhD programs. Every year since 2004, calls for proposals from the European Commission (EC) encouraged European HEIs to apply for funding and recognition to create EM Masters' Courses (EMMC) (beginning in 2004) and EM Joint Doctorate (EMJD) programs (beginning in 2009). Selected EMMCs received from the EU €30,000 maximum for the internal management costs to be divided equally among consortium members, whereas EMJDs received a maximum of EU €50,000 per consortium. Each consortium comprised HEI partners in at least three different European countries, one of which had to be an EU Member Country. One member of each consortium was designated as the coordinating HEI for that particular EM program. In Finland, applying for EM programs was encouraged and supported at the national level; CIMO dedicated a webpage to EM events, information, and calls for proposals while also coordinating annual information days and seminars to encourage HEIs to apply (CIMO, 2012b). Table 5 shows the number of applications submitted from Finnish HEI partners and the number of successful proposals (and the role of each Finnish HEI as either a consortium partner or the coordinating HEI).

Table 5

Submitted and Accepted Applications for the Erasmus Mundus Program in Finland, 2004-2012

	Masters' Degree Joint Programs (EMMC)				Doctoral Joint Degree Programs (EMJD)			
Year	Applications	Accepted	Coordinator	Partner	Applications	Accepted	Coordinator	Partner
2004	12	3	1	2				
2005	7	1	0	1				
2006	10	1	1	0				
2007	11	2	0	2				
2008	19	4	0	4				
2009	18	7	2	5	9	0	0	0
2010	12	1	1	0	18	0	0	0
2011	16	3	0	3	15	1	0	1
2012	17	1	0	1	16	0	0	0
TOTAL	**122**	**23**	**5**	**18**	**58**	**1**	**0**	**1**

(CIMO 2010, 2012b).

Originally, the program was funded for a five-year period (2004-2008), with an overall budget of EU €296 million. In 2008, the EU voted to fund EM II for an additional five-year period (2009-2013) with a significantly increased budget of EU €950 million (European Parliament, 2008). The budget funds visiting researchers and scholars with HEIs creating new joint degree programs that promote the attractiveness of European HE and use a large portion of the budget to finance scholarships for selected degree students (European Commission, 2012b). Scholarships[18] for doctoral students range between EU €61,200 to €129,900 for three years and masters' students receive up to EU €24,000/ per year (European Commission, 2011b). EM scholarships are intended to cover tuition fees, participation costs (including insurance coverage), travel costs, visas, and monthly allowances.

At the national level, respondents acknowledged that the EM scholarships to cover tuition at participating European HEIs became a touchy topic for participating Finnish HEIs. Since the Finnish constitution deems tuition in Finland illegal, it led to complications in the consortium, but also could be seen as a force that further opened up the discussion for tuition fees in Finland.

> The students [in EM] get a very generous scholarship from the EU and still it is very difficult for Finnish universities to take part in the programs just because of the fact that it has to be tuition free here in Finland. So that has led to all kinds of complications in arrangements between universities in different networks. So definitely it was perhaps one of the impetuses behind the discussion whether we should be able to charge tuition fees or not. *–National Level*

> We have this life with the [Erasmus] Mundus and it was not a nice thing to be in such a position that there was no legal framework for implementing the program with fees- that was difficult for us from the beginning. In these [EM] programs you have tuition fees but

[18] Originally when EM began in 2004 there was one scholarship for "third country nationals" only and the scholarship was designed to cover the full cost of the degree program (travel, tuition, cost of living, etc.). In phase two of EM, beginning in 2009, there are two levels of scholarships offered, category A and B. Category A scholarships are offered to "third country nationals" (non EU/EEA students) only and cover the "full cost" of the degree program. Category B scholarships are intended for EU and EEA students who do not meet the criteria of Category A ; this scholarship is a "financial contribution" to the student's study period in the degree program (European Commission, 2011b). Since this study considers international degree students (non EU/EEA) the scholarship amounts reflect category A scholarships.

> European Union is funding these fees for students. Before this experiment we were not allowed to take this funding for our university because the law said that we were not allowed to have tuition fees so it was not even possible to get this money from the European Union. –*University Staff*

HEIs participating in EM programs suggested to the Ministry that the tuition law needed to be changed in order for Finnish HEIs to benefit from the tuition money. The EM program offered challengers the opportunity to better their position and perhaps change the rules of the field, as they advocated for the ability to collect tuition fees in these EU sponsored programs.

> The Finnish universities started to talk about the possibility of tuition fees since the Erasmus Mundus program launched [in 2004]. It was possible to charge tuition fees from students participating in the programs. But, at that time, we did not have tuition fees; so, it was impossible for Finnish universities to do that, even if they were making or developing common programs with universities coming from other parts of Europe. The other universities were able to charge tuition fees from the students in that program but the Finnish universities were not. That was the driver; that's why universities suggested to the Ministry that we should try to figure out whether there was a possibility for them to also benefit from Erasmus Mundus. –*National Level*

> The idea that there was money available [from the EU] that we were entitled to but could not collect seemed ridiculous to universities' leaders. I think they [university leaders] used these as points of reasoning towards the Ministry of Education for changing the law, for allowing at least something to be collected, something that was out there, something that would not involve students themselves paying for it. –*National Level*

Nordic Influences

Finland often looks to and benchmarks from national policy reforms in other Nordic countries. As one academic staff member explained, "We seem to be following what's happening in the rest of the Scandinavian countries politically. When you look at the whole structure of the society and the politics and everything, we share history, we share very similar systems, and values with them" (Academic Staff). Denmark was the first Nordic country to introduce tuition fees in 2006 right after the Finnish tuition committee submitted the recommendations to collect partial tuition fees. In addition, Finland's neighboring country Sweden was debating tuition fees around the same time that Finnish politicians were negotiating the tuition issue. Thus, Denmark was used as an example while the situation in Sweden was also being observed with interest. Respondents spoke to how other Nordic country HE policies are used for benchmarking in the creation or reform of Finnish HE policies.

> The legislative changes were made during 2009; that was a time when we didn't have much [tuition fee] experience or had limited possibilities to learn from other Nordic countries. Nordic countries often are the countries we refer to or benchmark from. So, we were quite cautious here…it [tuition] was kind of a new thing for Nordic countries. There are not too many countries where it's possible to have the same kind of situation as we have here in Finland because we don't have any tuition fees. It is only some Nordic countries which have the same situation. *–National Level*

The national level respondent acknowledges how tuition-free HE is rare when compared to the broader field environment. This "Nordic exceptionalism" perspective implies that Nordic countries are unique and do not need to conform to general international developments. Yet, times are changing in the globalized world where there is increased pressure to follow global trends and integrate into the global economy. Some respondents recognize that a few provisions of the Nordic welfare system, such as the absence of tuition, may fall victim to global influences. When it comes to introducing tuition fees into HE systems, Denmark is viewed as the "first-mover" within the Nordic countries; an example to observe, assess, and possibly follow.

> It has been a custom in the Nordic countries that education is free but some Nordic countries such as Denmark and Sweden, they have introduced fees. So, this kind of pressure from other countries within the Nordic area, it has grown. Also it [Denmark and Sweden charging tuition fees] has been a good example for Finland that it's possible… Tuition fees have been introduced in many countries and also in many European countries in general. At this moment, Finland is a rare exception or has been a rare exception; so therefore, more pressure from these global trends has been faced here and it has, of course, influenced this kind of attitude [for tuition fees] in society and in the state and in the Ministry of Education. *–University Administrator*

Summary

As the 20-year historical narrative on tuition fees unfolded in Finland, there was a gradual softening toward the idea of tuition. The first research question in this study asks, "Why is Finland introducing student tuition fees for students outside the EU? Once a taboo topic it is now openly discussed as the incumbents and challengers use their voices to gain position in the SAF. The narrative in the 1990s and 2000s describes how the opening up of the Finnish economy led to internal reforms, international influences, and global trends resulting in a compromised tuition pilot program. Although influences from the European and Nordic region sent “exogenous shock” to the Finnish system of HE, the Finnish path to tuition was unique in its own right. Välimaa (2012) argues that even with international trends, the Nordic countries follow their own distinct path of HE development. In the 1990s Finland opened its borders as it became an EU Member Country and facilitated more international cooperation and student exchanges within Europe. A shift occurred in the 2000s with an influx of international degree students and IDMPs. Consequently, the national discussion shifted to contemplate the funding implications of the rise in international degree students in Finland. Throughout the 2000s, pressures from the broader field environment, including OECD recommendations and the EU discourse and prescriptive reforms, also shaped the SAF. Finnish HEIs began participating in the EU sponsored EM program, yet the tuition-free constitution did not allow HEIs to “benefit” from tuition fees. This prompted some HEI leaders to begin discussions with the Ministry. At the same time, the Ministry tuition committee not only recommended partial tuition fees, but it was also instrumental in opening up the discussion of the traditionally taboo topic. Thus, from the inability to collect tuition fees from EM programs and the final 2005 tuition committee report advocating and gaining position for tuition fees, the challengers in the SAF emerged and began advocating tuition fees. In 2006, Finnish policymakers and HE actors watched closely as the first Nordic neighbor, Denmark, introduced tuition fees for international students. Finally, after a complex two years of parliamentary elections and government negotiations, a non-consensus compromise resulted in the tuition fee pilot program.

The introduction of tuition fees into an otherwise tuition-free system is a practice emblematic of the shift to academic capitalism. Nonetheless, it can be argued that in this case academic capitalism does not explain the tuition pilot program simply because it is a small experiment only applicable to (some) international degree students. Yet, as evidenced here, the 20-year history building up to the pilot program demonstrates leanings towards the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime, especially in the discourse invoked by the challengers in the SAF. The specific rationales employed by the challengers will be further analyzed in Chapter 5. The structural environment of the 1990s, with the decrease in national HE funding and integration with the global economy through the joining of the EU, gives way to an emerging narrative for international student degree tuition fees. Overall, the narrative demonstrates how the internationalization HE discourse shifts from being cooperative in the 1990s to more competitive in the 2000s. This shift, however, was tempered by the incumbents in the SAF and the public good regime that is deeply engrained in the values of the Finnish social welfare system.

When analyzing the history of policy development, the SAF framework serves to identify the collective actors who work to change or stabilize the status quo. In this study, the SAF is conceptualized as the Finnish HE system. The 20-year narrative introduces three collective actors pertaining to the tuition fee debate in Finland. In the 2000s we begin to see an otherwise unorganized and taboo social space open up and become more organized. It is in this phase when actors jockey for position and form coalitions; they come together to create collective strategic action as challengers and incumbents. For example, in the time between the creation of the tuition fee committee in 2005 and the University Act of 2009, the incumbents, specifically the student union, aimed for strategic advantage as they sought out political coalitions with members of the parliament and political parties. They did this because they knew the SAF dynamics and they were aware of the power held by the politicians and parliament members, many of which were challengers. Also during the 2000s, national level and university administrator respondents attempted to make sense of the increase in international degree students, the new EM programs, and their stance on tuition fees, with many university administrators shifting their stance on tuition fees and joining the challengers' movement. It is important to note that the new public management (NPM) reforms in 2009 University Act were a gain for the challengers in the field.

In the beginning of this study the student union was not included in the list of potential respondents, but as the interviews progressed it became obvious that the student union had strong influence in the Finnish HE policy making arena. Thus, student union members were added to the list of respondents. In Finland, the student union is a strong political player because the history of the political system extends a voice to the student union representatives; they are aligned with and respected by the political elite. Thus, as the authors of SAFs claim, the rules and shared meanings in the field favor them and make their stance on tuition fees legitimate. This chapter highlights how they struggle to maintain control in the SAF as the challengers gradually gain position in the field. For example, when faced with the realization that the tuition pilot program was a likely proposition, the incumbents negotiated strongly with the politicians to introduce a mandatory scholarship program as a pre-condition of participating in the pilot. For the incumbents, a needs-based scholarship program upheld the value of educational equality as it ensured international students from lower socio-economical backgrounds would still have an opportunity to pursue HE in Finland. However, as the legislative wording was revised the proposed needs-based scholarship became simply a scholarship. Chapter 6 discusses the implications of the scholarship program in further detail.

The challengers in the SAF offer intellectual rationales for the introduction of tuition fees for international students. They portray a story that tuition fees are inevitable to sustain the livelihood of Finnish HE. While they do recognize the "dominant logic of the incumbents," as they speak of the student union and the influence they hold in HE policy development, they question whether the current funding model of HE is sustainable: "We have this situation in Finland that student organizations protect their position very much while quite many stake holders and university rectors have started to wonder if this Finnish system is the most sustainable one, quality and funding wise" (National Level). Many of the challengers in the SAF talk about their own personal shift in perspective over the years, moving from an incumbent to a challenger. The challengers in this sample are not as publicly organized as the incumbents because they are still establishing their platform and they remain cautious to challenge the long-standing cultural philosophy of educational equality. Challengers are typically not "in open revolt against…oppositional logic"; usually they conform to the existing status quo (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, p. 12). According to the evidence, there is a group of powerful challengers (the politicians) that are not included in this study.

The evidence shows that the governance units, although mainly responsible for the implementation of the tuition fee pilot program, plays a significant role in the SAF. As Fligstein & McAdam (2011) claim, governance units traditionally protect the status quo, however in this case they are wedged between the European level discourse promoting more diversification of income and the Finnish status quo of educational equality. The governance unit actors are knowledgeable of the various influences (European, Nordic, and domestic), as well as the history and the political process. They have power in the SAF because they are recognized by other respondents as holding the purse strings, developing and implementing the field rules, and communicating the logistics of the tuition pilot program. Overall, the actors in the governance units carefully toe the political line when answering questions and they point out that Finnish HE is changing and at the same time being influenced by the broader field environment. The governance unit actors are influenced by the challengers, but appear to be fairly neutral and responsive to the needs of the constituents.

The authors Fligstein & McAdam (2012) develop the SAFs theory as an intersection between social movement and organizational theory with one underlying interest: collective strategic action. As portrayed in this chapter, a social movement arises when the Finnish system of HE faces a fundamental change – the introduction of tuition fees. Collective actors come together to protect or challenge the status quo of what a tuition-free system has come to symbolize, educational equality for all. From these findings, we would expect the students to continue to protect the Nordic welfare value of educational equality as the challengers continue to organize, bring in influences and discourse from the broader field environment, and make gradual gains towards market-oriented HE practices.

CHAPTER 5

RATIONALES FOR AND AGAINST TUITION FEES

This chapter presents the unique Finnish rationales for and against tuition fees. Within the strategic action field (SAF), both challengers and incumbents strategically employ discourse to not only justify their stances, but also to gain position in the debate by mobilizing others. Through social skills the collective strategic actors interpret rules in the field and then mobilize resources through cognitive, affective, and linguistic facilities. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) state, "Social skill is the ability to induce cooperation by appealing to and helping to create shared meanings and collective identities" (p. 178). One way that actors in the SAF create and sustain collective action is through the social construction of specific discourse (rationales).

Most respondents, regardless of where they stand in the SAF, are cognizant of the various rationales in the field. Being vigilant about what others are doing in the field is important, as actors need to be proactive and ready to respond (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). In the tuition debate, the incumbents and challengers know the various arguments of their opponents and counter them with their own rationales; "Their appeals elicit cooperation from members of their group and produce generally negative accounts of the identity of those with whom the group is competing" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 46). The governance unit respondents are also knowledgeable about the arguments and bring in social technology (general knowledge from the wider field of higher education (HE) both within Finland and external to Finland). In doing so, they add descriptive and anecdotal material to the various arguments. The rationales become the arena where both incumbents and challengers seek out opportunities to further their arguments with the hope of mobilizing more people around their stances. The underlying aim of this chapter answers the research question: What are the different rationales that actors, both incumbents and challengers, use to guide and/or enact social change or stability concerning the introduction of tuition fees in Finland? First, the incumbents' rationales are presented, followed by the challengers.

Incumbents

For the incumbents (student union), they want to maintain an HE system free of tuition fees (for both international degree and Finnish students). Their overarching ideological opposition to tuition fees is based on the idea that the Finnish society, as a whole, benefits from HE; thus, society should financially invest in HE. Incumbents view HE as a public good. There are four main rationales that emerge from the data. First, the incumbents hold a critically important resource in the debate, the protection of a deeply embedded value in the Finnish culture – education equality. As the evidence shows, equality is a common theme that surfaces when respondents discuss the rationales opposing tuition fees. For instance, some respondents discuss the importance of educational equality for social mobility at a macro level, while others discuss it at the micro level and give anecdotal details about the importance of educational equality in the classroom. In Finland, classroom equality means that all students enter the classroom with the same opportunities. Many academic staff members express concern in teaching a class with both students who are paying tuition versus students who are not paying, as the students enter the classroom with different burdens, expectations, and motivations. The notion of educational equality does not only apply to Finnish students, but includes international degree students, especially those coming from less developed countries. Second, incumbents also believe that HE should be insulated from market-forces and thus are resistant to academic capitalism behavior and practices. These two themes, equality and resistance to market-oriented HE, are not specific arguments protecting international degree students against tuition fees, but more generally they reflect the overall ideology of the incumbents. However, last two rationales are specific to international degree students. The third rationale supports international social justice wherein respondents view tuition-free HE as development aid. Finally, the last rationale incumbents employ is the notion that the introduction of tuition fees contradicts national efforts to internationalize HE and the labor market. This section presents and analyzes these rationales in more detail.

Gate Theory

The most frequently used argument against tuition fees has been named the “gate theory,” a theory that was created in the SAF by collective actors. A challenger describes the theory: “There’s of course, the basic students’ movement opposition of fees for international students, the so-called ‘gate theory’ that suggests that if you introduce fees for international students or non-European Union (EU) students, the next step is for the government to introduce fees locally” (University Administrator). In other words, the theory postulates that once the gate opens for universities to collect tuition fees from non-EU students, the gate will remain open and tuition fees will spread to EU and domestic students. When analyzed, this argument becomes more about protecting Finnish students and the core value of educational equality than about the international students who are subjected to the pilot program. A student union respondent explains the “gate theory” and addresses the apprehension of the tuition pilot program expanding to include Finnish students:

> The whole student movement in Finland has been very skeptical about tuition fees in general and it’s been one of the biggest topics in the last decade or two to be against tuition fees in general. The student movement and we as part of it are also a bit worried that as a result of this trial that actually the tuition fees might spread to Finnish students

> as well. That's one really big concern, so there have been demonstrations and big campaigns against the tuition fees. *–Student Union*

As this respondent mentions, one tactic the student union employs to attain cooperation and mobilize others is through the organization of public demonstrations and campaigns. For example, in April 2010 the National Union of University Students in Finland (SYL) organized a demonstration against tuition fees in Helsinki where approximately 2,000 students gathered in the Senate Square and marched to the Parliament House (Dobson, 2010). In addition, student unions around Finland hosted annual “free education days” in November to rally continued support for their position. For example, the Student Union of the University of Turku, Turun Yliopiston Ylioppilaskunta (TTY), announced their 2009 free education day including discourse that supports the gate theory:

> Free education is a current and important political issue…international experience shows that tuition fees have ultimately expanded to encompass all student groups. All around campus, "exam invoices" and other information on the importance of free education will be distributed. Come be a part of the cause and hand out exam invoices and receive a free lunch! (TYY, 2009).

The idea of tuition is still, to this day, politically sensitive. Many challengers speak to the sensitive nature of tuition and in particular how the gate theory has made intellectual discussions on the topic difficult. A respondent explains:

> It’s important to understand that this tuition fee experiment, as we call it in Finland, is politically very sensitive. In Nordic countries, especially in Finland, it’s been very difficult to discuss tuition fees because there is a ‘gate theory’ in the background that if we have experimental tuition fees it will automatically lead to tuition fees for all programs for all people. *–University Administrator*

It is, perhaps, because of the sensitivity of the topic that we do not see the challengers more outwardly public about their views on tuition fees. Challengers still struggle to find their voice and position in the debate, especially considering that they are going against deeply embedded societal values. On the other hand, the incumbents, by default, have an easier time claiming their position because they defend the dominant logic and a fundamental value of the Finnish society.

Thus, it is through the gate theory argument that the incumbents aim to protect tuition-free education or more generally the basic core value of educational equality, a value deeply embedded in the Finnish welfare philosophy since the late 1950s. Reflecting on the idea of educational equality, one respondent explains how the student union has historically resisted tuition:

> In the history of the student union we have always wanted no tuition fees for anybody, even for the students from outside the EU. We like to have free [higher education] for all because we see that it is equal; we like that our students are in an equal position and that they have an equal chance to go further with our studies. *–Student Union*

It is not only the incumbents who discuss how tuition-free HE has become a significant policy instrument to maintain equality. Even the challengers speak to how “free education” remains an essential element of the welfare state design, demonstrating how collective actors have a common understanding of the role educational equality plays in Finland. One challenger acknowledges this common national understanding:

> Well, I think it goes to this welfare state idea, it is a part of the package, nothing is free really, we pay a lot through our taxes. But, still we have free education, basically free healthcare and we take care of our children and elderly. It’s part of the ideology that has made this country what it is. I think it is quite telling that most of the political parties see quite similarly these things despite whether they are more on the left or more towards right. Of course there are variations, but the belief in this model is very Nordic and very Finnish. *–University Administrator*

While the incumbents employ this deeply emotional core value to justify and gain support for their position, the challengers acknowledge the importance of this core value and how it makes the tuition discussion politically volatile. For example, a university administrator speaks to how tuition free education reflects the basic values of society and democracy.

> The whole issue to introduce tuition fees in Finland has been politically extremely difficult. It touches a very deep value structure in Finland; education must be free for all. Free education is associated with basic values and democracy and everyone's right regardless of the ability to pay or not and it's so deeply rooted in Finnish system that it's for all political parties a very difficult question. –*University Administrator*

Even though the tuition pilot program is exclusively for non-EU students in selected English language masters programs, the "gate theory" opens up the debate to include more general ideological arguments about tuition for the Finnish society. Thus, the discourse also includes how educational equality equates to social mobility. With the absence of tuition comes the assumption that there are no barriers to participating in HE. A university staff respondent speaks to this idea:

> We want to offer good education for all people regardless of what is their background. So, all have the possibility to enter universities, for example, to get a higher level of education even if their parents didn't have that possibility in the past. –*University Staff*

Many respondents speak to how the distributive justice of attending HE has contributed to specifically the success story of social mobility in Finland and more generally the nation building. Through social skills honed in the SAF, incumbents gain the capability to eloquently frame their argument in such a way that mobilizes people to protect social mobility, the essence of what educational equality has come to signify. A student union respondent explains in more detail why tuition-free education equates to educational equality and in the end social mobility:

> I think it [tuition free education] is really important for any society, it's one of the main reasons why in Finland, compared with other countries, it has been relatively easy to move from one class or one layer of the society to another or it's one of the main things that ensures social mobility and equality of opportunities. I think without free education Finland would turn much more into a class society where your parents' position predetermines where you end up in your life. I think in all Nordic countries we have quite a strong appreciation for social mobility and it's a very essential value that everyone has a chance to climb up in society. –*Student Union*

Figure 2 highlights the change in income disparity in some Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, including Finland, from 1985 to 2005. The table uses Gini coefficients to measure inequality of income/wealth distribution based on a value between zero and one. The zero coefficient represents perfect equality (everyone has the same income), whereas one represents perfect inequality (one person has all of the income while everyone else has no income). Between the years of 1985 and 2005 the gap between the rich and poor in Finland increased at a rate higher than most OECD countries. However, Figure 3 shows the income disparity rate in 2005; Finland, along with a few other Nordic countries, has the lowest percentage of income disparity. Even with free HE in Finland the gap between classes widens, although the difference in classes is not as dramatic when compared to other countries.

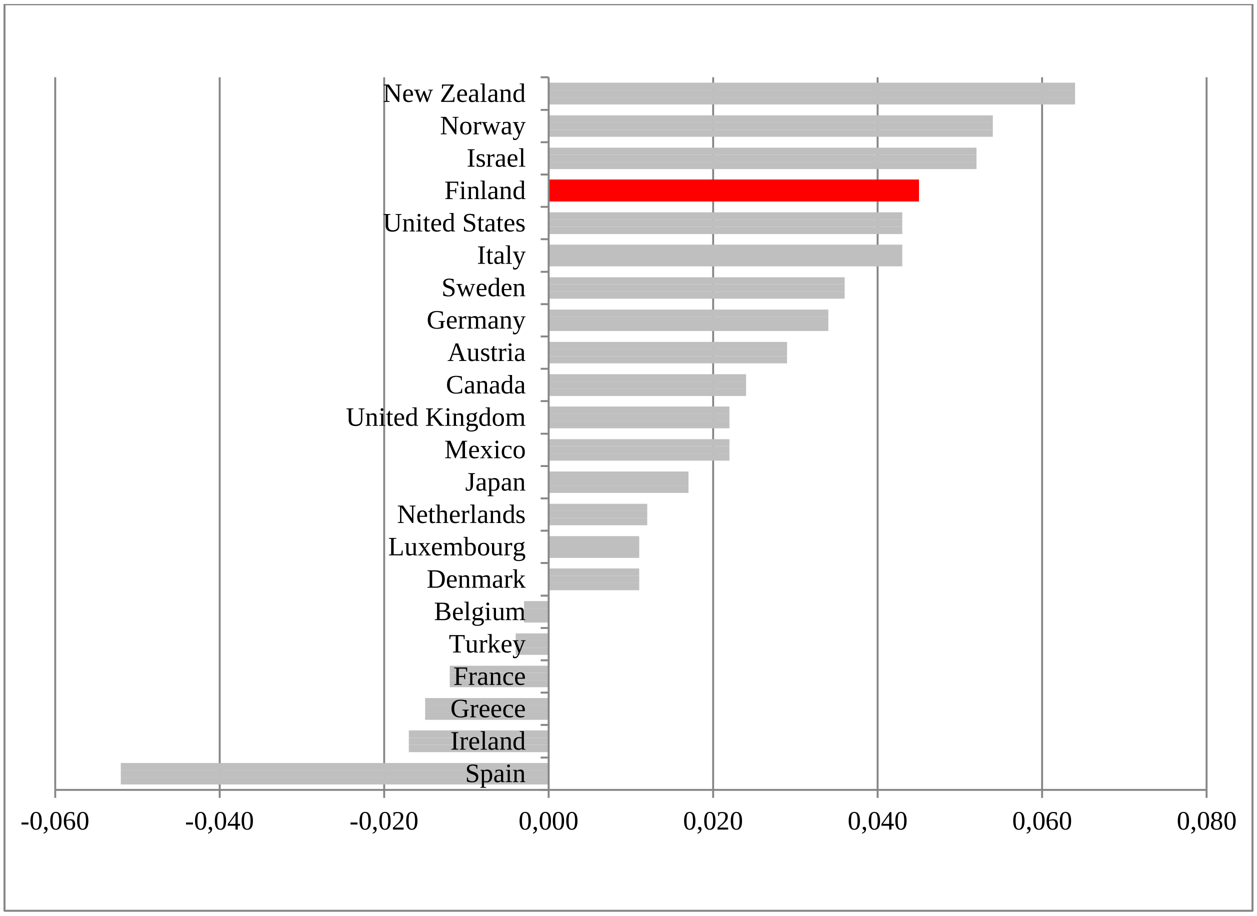

Figure 2 Change in Income Disparity in Selected OECD Countries, 1985-2005

Note: From OECD (2012b). Income Distribution Country Tables: Inequality.

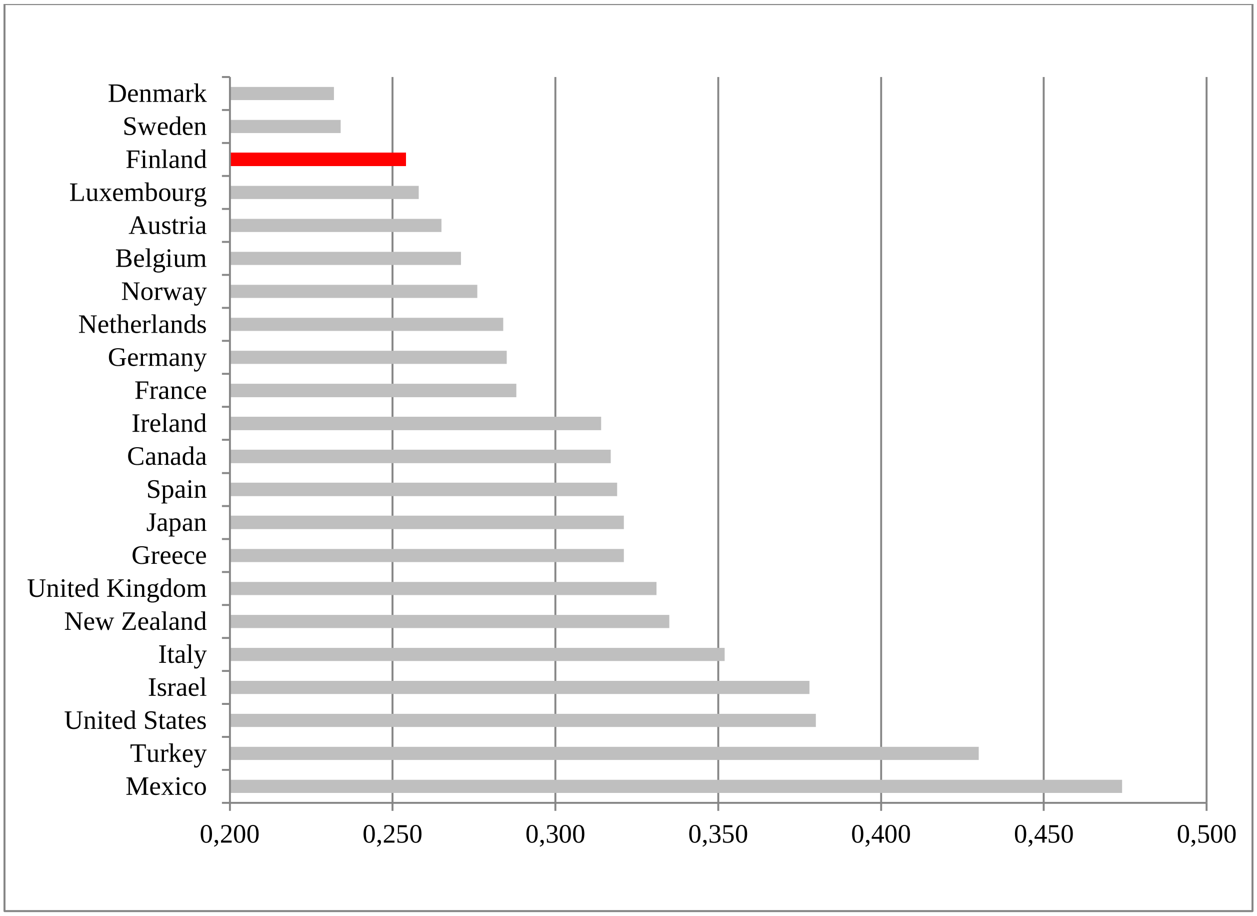

Figure 3 Income Disparity in Selected OECD Countries, 2005

Note: From OECD (2012b). Income Distribution Country Tables: Inequality.

As the incumbent rationales in the SAF protect the values of equality and social mobility, other actors in the field share anecdotal evidence that reinforces the benefits of HE. Some respondents take a more personal approach to share the impact that tuition-free education has had on their lives.

> My personal opinion is that I still support the free education of this country because I believe in the success story that Finland has had in the past. After the Second World War this was an extremely poor country. The growth we've seen in the past 60 or 70 years has been based in education and I can see it in my own family history. So, my parents, for instance, would have had no opportunity, no possibility whatsoever to go to universities or anything like that. Their parents, my grandparents, believed in the fact that the only way to get their children forward in life and to get them better off would be to educate them. So, personally, even when looking at my own history, I wouldn't be here [without free higher education]. –*Academic Staff*

Resistance to Academic Capitalism

The second rationale that incumbents use to gain position in the field is a general anti-market stance to HE demonstrating their resistance to academic capitalism. Within this argument comes a general suspicion towards market forces and how it changes the student into a consumer and the higher education institution (HEI) into a provider. Yet, even within this rationale against tuition fees the fundamental value of equality remains central to the argument. This student union respondent explains their discontent with market-oriented HE:

> You treat people the same regardless of where they come from and I don't see education as a product in that sense or a marketable good. I really dislike the idea of having a business model for universities or higher education in general or having this kind of idea on effectiveness that they want to push through and they have to make a profit and everything. It's just incompatible with my way of thinking." –*Student Union*

There is an apprehension in introducing tuition fees because it changes the dominant logic of equality into a market-oriented logic, thus transforming the student into a consumer. A respondent explains how this change in student identity impacts how paying students are treated in the university community:

> We're afraid that there will be A and B class students, that those students who pay will get better service than those students who don't pay. This sort of market logic will prevail in the university so that the university no longer thinks of students as equal members of the university community. Instead they think that students are like customers and that they have to maximize the income that they can get from students so whatever they do they will justify through how much it produces income and that's not how we want the students to be viewed in the university community. Then in Finland we have a strong

> tradition of considering the students as part of the community together with professors and staff. But if they pay money then they just become customers. *–Student Union*

Not only do the student union respondents worry about students becoming consumers, but academic staff respondents also share this concern. This respondent discusses how differential tuition may change the teaching and learning paradigm:

> I have a concern that the students paying tuition fees would feel like customers of the universities even more strongly than the ones who are not paying tuition fees. For instance grading becomes more challenging. We try to do grading carefully and we discuss all the concerns that students have about their grades but we do not have this argument of somebody coming with a bad grade or even a failing grade saying that, 'I pay 8,000 euro a year tuition, I'm failing,' it's your problem. 'Why are you not teaching me well enough?' So we have all kinds of discussion with the students and why they should get better grades but we do not yet have this kind of discussion, 'I'm paying, I'm a customer, I need better teachers.' maybe this would be a good kind of incentive for us to improve our teaching too. *–Academic Staff*

Such consumerist policies are seen as devices to fundamentally change "academic culture and pedagogic relationships to comply with market frameworks" (Naidoo et.al, 2011, p. 1145). The incumbents worry about the fundamental changes that academic capitalism practices bring to the classroom.

International Social Justice

The third rationale used by the incumbents includes the philosophy of tuition as development aid. The basic idea behind this rationale is that tuition-free Finnish HE helps educate international students coming from developing countries with limited infrastructure for quality HE provisions. A government unit respondent speaks to how the student union uses this rationale to not only gain support for their general position against tuition fees, but also to counter the pilot program with the needs-based scholarship program:

> Our student unions have emphasized that Finnish higher education has been a possibility for several international students who come from African countries, from Eastern European countries, from countries that are not doing that well. So, our free education has enabled those students to have access to quality higher education. One of the reasons

> that student unions have been against this trial has been this kind of global responsibility thinking. That is one of the reasons why all these programs who are taking part in the tuition fee trial have to have this scholarship scheme and the scholarship scheme was supposed to be mainly for those students who didn't have good possibilities or good economic situations. –*National Level*

Not only do student union respondents use international social justice as a rationale, but others in the field, a few academic staff respondents, speak to the development aid philosophy of tuition-free HE. They speak from a general perspective of how educating students from developing countries benefits the larger global society and can be considered a humanitarian deed. Their approach does not necessarily advocate free tuition, but rather demonstrates how the development aid approach to HE is not only coming from the student union respondents.

> There would be a large aggregate benefit for humanity at large, or for those [developing] countries, if the students got access to education. It would benefit Finland to make it possible for people who cannot afford it. –*Academic Staff*

Another Academic Staff respondent speaks to the development aid of a tuition-free HE system, yet is more pragmatic about the reality of Finland paying the bill for such efforts:

> It's a very difficult question because we cannot save the whole world; this is a small country. That's the problem. There is the humanitarian aspect but on the other hand you only have only certain resources. If I would be some kind of a dictator in the world, there would be free education everywhere, and then we wouldn't have this discussion about tuition in Finland either. –*Academic Staff*

These two quotes demonstrate how the academic staff could easily be categorized as either challengers or incumbents, as some took more of a pragmatic perspective and did not take a stance for or against tuition fees. Yet, they share their opinions about the various rationales and discourse shaping the SAF.

Tuition Fees are Contradictory to the Internationalization Efforts

Finally, just as the incumbents believe that HE benefits accrue for the Finnish society, they also believe that the Finnish society profits from having international degree students enrolled in national HEIs. “We have more to gain from having people come into the country and study and bring new ideas; we feel that that’s a valuable contribution in itself” (Student Union). In view of that, they build their argument on the basis of the assumption that introducing tuition fees will decrease the attractiveness of studying in Finland resulting in an overall decline in the number of international degree students. In the eyes of the incumbents and many other respondents, reducing the number of international degree students remains contradictory to the national internationalization efforts. In the Strategy for Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions in Finland (2009-2015) there is a mobility goal to recruit 20,000 international degree students by 2015[19], making up 7% of the total students enrolled (Ministry of Education, 2009).

Within this rationale, there is an assumption or even a fear that the number of international students will decrease with the introduction of tuition fees. Many respondents refer to what happened in the neighboring Nordic countries, Denmark and Sweden, when tuition fees were implemented in 2006 and 2010, respectively. In particular, a respondent in the governance unit acknowledges this apprehension: “There is also a lot of discussion about what happened in Denmark and Sweden (where the number of applicants decreased) and if the same will happen in Finland” (National Level). Another respondent at the national level mentions how findings from student union surveys adds to this trepidation, “There are fears that the numbers of applicants will decrease if we have fees because in different student surveys the biggest reason for choosing Finland for future students is that we do not have fees” (National Level). In 2005, the student union conducted a student survey of international degree students at five HEIs[20]. Among numerous questions they asked “Would you have chosen your current university as a place for

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[19] In 2010, there were 15,707 international degree students enrolled in Finnish HEIs (CIMO, 2011).

[20] The survey collected responses from 608 international degree students in five HEIs. In 2005, there were a total of approximately 8,000 international degree students studying in Finland.

studies if you had to pay tuition fees?" (Kärki, 2005, pp. 38-40). Out of 602 respondents answering the survey question, 60% of the respondents answered no, while the majority of the other 40% responded that they would be willing to pay tuition under EU €1,000/year[21]. The student union use these results to support their argument that international degree students are attracted to study in Finland because of the absence of tuition fees, thus if tuition fees were introduced international degree students would choose to go elsewhere.

A major theme running throughout the collected data is the international attractiveness of the Finnish HE system. This theme reflects the general concern that Finland, being a non-native English speaking country along with the location, climate, etc., has to work hard to attract and recruit international degree students. Here a respondent discusses the challenges associated with the attractiveness of studying in Finland compared to other countries:

> Finland has a lot of good sides but it certainly has some unattractive sides. We are such a small country, far up north, the climate, the language, and our country is not that internationally minded yet (it's quite inward to…the atmosphere, the culture). So it is a lot easier for an international student to go to London for example or some other British place or even to the Netherlands. It might be easier to go to Sweden. *–National Level*

While it may be more attractive to study in the U.K., Netherlands, or Sweden, because of those reasons, financial attractiveness (tuition, cost of living, etc.) also plays into college choice. In their rationale against tuition fees, many incumbents discuss Finland's financial attractiveness and competitiveness.

> It's also a question of having a competitive system, I mean, you always say you have free education but for someone from outside of the EU to come to Finland, Finland is an expensive country. You pay for your living and you pay for your upkeep: housing, at least in Helsinki, the estimate is around €700 a month. When you come to the country, you must have at least €6,000 in your account and you must have health insurance. So,

[21] Out of 237 respondents who answered that they would be willing to pay tuition fees, only 99 answered the follow question asking what amount they would be willing to pay. 75 respondents answered that they would be willing to pay under EU €1,000 per year, 17 respondents answered EU €1,000 to 3,000, 6 respondents answered EU €3,000 to 6,000, one respondent answered EU €6,000 to 12,000, and no respondents answered EU €12,000 to 18,000 (Kärki, 2005, pp. 39-40).

> it's free in a sense that you don't charge tuition fees but it's a very expensive choice for a lot of international students. –*Student Union*

When the incumbents discuss how tuition fees will inevitably decrease the number of international students, they also explain what this drop in international degree students would mean for Finland.

> We also say that if tuition fees [become] common here it is bad for Finland and Finnish people because we would like to have more international knowledge here, more than we have now. –*Student Union*

Challengers

The challengers believe that tuition fees for international degree students is the best course of action when taking into consideration the international pressures in the global economy and the future of the national economy. While the challengers are less public about their views, when compared to the incumbents their arguments against tuition fees are well known and acknowledged in the field. The discourse has less to do with the public good of HE and more to do with HE as a private good, a commodity that can be bought and sold in the marketplace; "It's a trial to test how attractive [IDMPs] are and how well they do in the international market" (National Level). There are three discursive themes that serve as the foundation of their rationales for tuition: quality, competition and financial benefits. In the discourse formation, tuition is constructed as a proxy for the quality and international competitiveness of the Finnish HE system. The challengers also believe that introducing tuition fees brings with it financial benefits that are needed to maintain the HE system.

Tuition is Proxy for Quality & Competition

Tuition as Marker of Quality

Many respondents mention that by introducing tuition fees, the quality of the international students, teaching, and programs will improve. Within this argument for tuition fees, there is a supposition that tuition (or market forces) equates to quality improvement (or efficiency) and high quality programs attract international students. This market logic is consistent with economic theory in that market forces cultivate more flexibility and efficiency in HE (Furedi, 2011). In other words, the 'invisible hand,' the self-regulating market mechanism, will ensure market vigor by adjusting to supply and demand situations (Teixera, et al., 2004). The assumption is that markets deliver internal efficiency as they stimulate more competition and create more autonomous, responsive, and self-regulating HEIs, thus leading to greater innovation. In this case, challengers claim that tuition acts as an incentive for HEIs and academic staff members to create, develop, and maintain programs of high quality. The assumption is that consumerist forces reward high quality because "consumer choice will foster competition between universities to result in more responsive, inclusive, and better quality teaching" (Naidoo et al., 2011, p. 1145). One challenger discusses how introducing tuition may initially result in a decline in applicants, but in the long run tuition leads to more quality program development:

> Initially, when countries introduced fees like the Netherlands, Denmark, and also Sweden, you do see a drop in the number of applications but also if you do things smartly in a couple of years, you see more and more programs develop; you see more quality control mechanisms for education provided in other languages; you see much more recruitment and international presence of universities and even countries. All that coupled with the fact that there is an increasing number of students mobile globally, I think it's a clear equation. *–University Administrator*

In the Finnish context, the internationalization efforts are still developing. As outlined in chapter 3, it was not until the early 2000s when HEIs began to actively recruit international students and the numbers began to grow. Respondents address the benefits of tuition fees being used for quality enhancement efforts specifically for international degree programs, but more generally for internationalization efforts. One national level respondent addresses these issues:

> I'm not worried about the substantive quality of the programs but I am still a bit worried about the programs offered for international students that they are, at least some them,

> mainly national programs but only the teaching is carried out in English and that is not an international program. So there I think we really need resources. We need money and we need also human resources to develop this kind of work. So really the important idea is that they [tuition fee income] shouldn't be used just for the benefit of the whole higher education sector as such but they would be geared to the stronger internationalization of the system. Because we are very very much aware at the ministry and in the society at large that the low level of internationalization in our higher education and research is one of the biggest challenges for us. *–National Level*

Not only is quality development used to rationalize the need for tuition fees, but there is also a perception that international students question the quality of a degree if it does not have a price tag. Many respondents claim that in order to be competitive within the international student market there must be a price attached to the degree offering.

> There are some markets in which quality is equated with cost. For some students, parents, countries, regions, whatever, if it's [higher education is] low cost, it cannot be any good. *–University Administrator*

> Sometimes, for instance, in Asia, students think that if the tuition is free of charge, it's not of good quality and that has also been one of the reasons behind introducing tuition fees. *–National Level*

In the discursive formation, tuition does not only equate to quality, it also brings with it an assumed level of prestige. A few respondents mention how putting a price tag on a degree increases the prestige of international degree programs.

> We should have tuition because if you sell something for free, then the potential buyer thinks that all this cannot be worth anything because they're given to them for free. It would actually help our marketing to say that here we have this very high quality and prestigious program, and 'oh by the way, it costs EU €8,000 per year. *–Academic Staff*

Then there are those respondents who use examples from the neoliberal economic theory to explain the value of a product. This particular respondent uses an example from a proponent of neoliberal policy to demonstrate a view:

> Have you seen this movie, "Iron Lady", this Margaret Thatcher movie? Anyway, she says something political, but she says, "If something is free, people don't value it," that's one of her statements in the movie and I'm also of that opinion that I think that students if

> they pay something and it doesn’t actually matter what it is, as long as they pay something, I think our rate of graduation will go up very much. –*Academic Staff*

Tuition as Competitive Instrument

Many challengers view tuition as a proxy for competition. One key feature manifesting from the “competition fetish” (Naidoo, 2011) is academic capitalism. In this case, the challengers view the act of putting a price tag on something that was previously free as a strategy to be more competitive. As one respondent explicitly states, “We want to be more competitive in the global higher education market and tuition fees are one way to be more competitive” (University Administrator). There is a sense of urgency in this competitive discourse and some believe that the five-year tuition pilot program has too many administrative obstacles built into it (only five years, must offer scholarship, etc.), hence discouraging HE actors from participating. One respondent describes how the pilot program may lessen Finland’s competitive edge: “Because of the weaknesses of the legislation and the conditions of the pilot program we are losing time, other countries they already have long way ahead compared to Finland in this developing international higher education market” (National Level).

It is within this rationale where another group of challengers emerge, the university rectors. One respondent mentions how Universities Finland (UNIFI), formerly the Finnish Council of University Rectors (UNIFI became a registered association around the same time that the 2009 University Act passed through Parliament), in particular, promotes tuition fees and has also published a manifesto detailing ways to compete internationally:

> Universities have been very active in promoting this idea [tuition] and also the whole university reform in general. So we Rectors have been very extremely active and the University Rectors Council [UNIFI] has been, let’s say, an initiator and we have spoken for the need to reform the Finnish University and also to introduce these fees and we have published some kind of manifesto how these rectors see that the Finnish University should compete internationally.” – *University Administrator*

While the 2005 manifesto does not explicitly include recommendation for tuition fees, the document includes competition-driven discourse:

> The Finnish universities have laid a strong foundation of knowledge and increased national well-being in Finland. However, as the global competition is stepping up, this will no longer be sufficient. We must further improve the possibilities for the universities to become more international (Finnish Council of University Rectors, 2005).

Many strategies that actors promote in the discourse are not prescriptive, but rather hands-off, which is an unregulated element of free-market economics that encourages more competition (Portnoi, et al., 2010). Market orientation of HE promotes an interaction among actors where "no one is in charge and matters are disaggregated" (Clark, 1983, p. 30). University rectors are figure heads which means their discourse is usually visionary, but not prescriptive. The university administrators are the individuals expected to interpret and implement the competitive discourse into innovative practices.

Universities do not have a strong unified organization that represents all of the universities; even the university rectors organization does not play this role as they are more "akin to a social club than a political actor" (Välimaa, 2005, p. 263). UNIFI was a strong supporter of the new University Act legislation including the tuition fee pilot program, "The Finnish Council of University Rectors welcomes this move as it has been actively arguing for this change for years" (UNIFI, 2012). The rectors influence policy through discourse shared in working groups, meetings and cooperation with international organizations (European University Association [EUA], Bologna, Organisation for Nordic University Co-operation, etc.). Being involved with these European and regional organizations means they are focused beyond the nation state. They are influenced by discourse and reforms occurring in the broader field environment, which is illustrated in the competitive discourse embedded in the manifesto.

Financial Benefits of Introducing Tuition

Competition for State Funds: Aging Population

Many challengers mention how the competition for state funds will become a problem in the future due to the aging population. One challenger notes, "In Finland we started talking about how the public funding is going to be more limited in the future because of the aging population; elderly care and health services will take a bigger part of the public funding and tax resources" (National Level). It is feared that public funding for HE will decrease with the increased need for long-term care and healthcare for the aging population. As shown in Figure 4, after World War II, from 1945 to 1947 there was a spike in the number of births resulting in the baby boomer generation. This peak was followed by a decline in birth rates from the 1950s to the 1970s and since then the rates have leveled out. The challengers use this information to back up their rationale that public funding for HE will be squeezed in the future.

> The competition [for public money] will become stronger because we have this aging problem. From 2015 up to 2035 we will have a huge amount of people retiring and less people to work and make money to keep this kind of education up and so its somehow very narrow-minded thinking that we are in a safety net and nothing will affect this small country of 5 million people and things will go on as they have been so far. –*University Administrator*

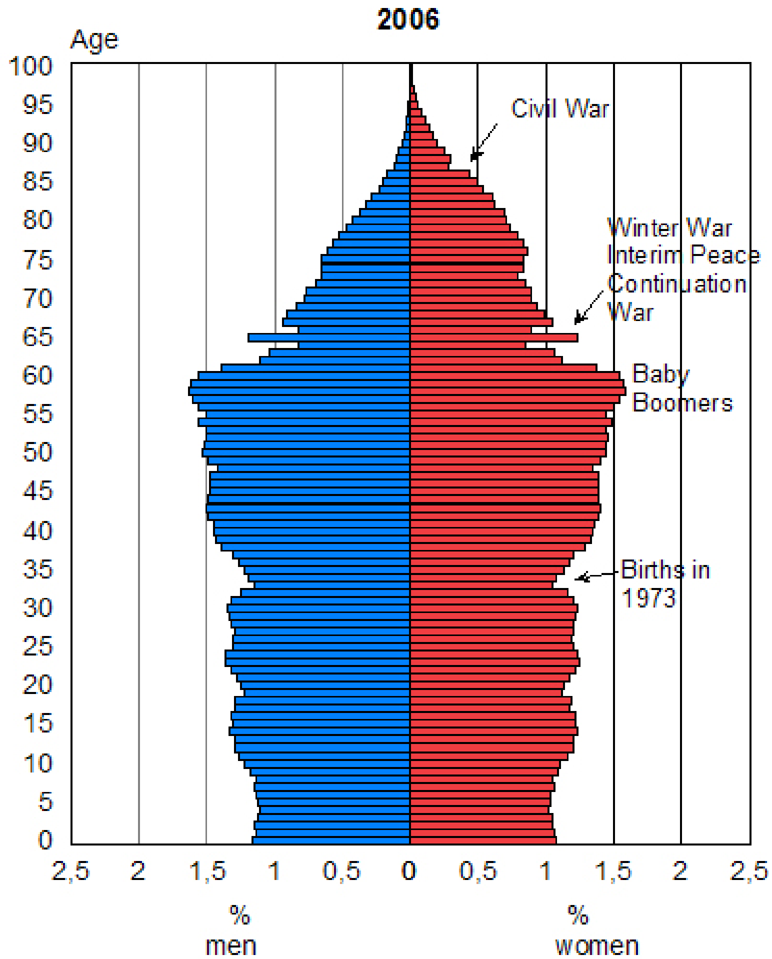

Figure 4 Age Structure of Finnish Population, 2006

Note: Statistics Finland (2007). Population Development in Independent Finland—Greying Baby Boomers.

The Finnish welfare system has two main elements: the pension system and the publicly funded systems (education, medical, and welfare) which are both provided and managed by local governments (Laine & Maivali, 2010). Steps have been made to plan for the future needs of aging citizens, such as prefunding of future pension needs and postponing the retirement age[22]. Yet the discourse from the Ministry and also from the broader environmental field, the European

[22] The pension scheme reform in 2005 introduced a flexible window retirement age. Finnish citizens can choose to retire anytime from 63 to 68 years old to be eligible for the national pension (Finnish Centre for Pensions, 2012).

Commission and OECD, forecasts future fiscal challenges due to the aging population: tightening labor market, narrowing tax base, decreased economic growth potential, and increased pressure on public finances (Laine & Maivali, 2010; Ministry of Finance, 2010; OECD, 2012a). The challengers are knowledgeable about these economic reports and forecasts and argue that tuition is one way to counter the possible downturn in public financing for HE:

> I think, although it is not discussed much, the whole shift in the population age structure in Finland as in many of the European countries [is reason to introduce tuition fees]. For a welfare state, what we have been really since World War II, we cannot afford everything anymore. Our population is aging and we have to provide more and more services there. So, I think this is just a balancing act; we need to charge something to make this equation work out, so we can provide good and affordable services, including education. *–University Administrator*

Taxpayers Burden

Another financial argument for tuition fees takes into consideration who pays for the cost of HE and who benefits. Whereas the incumbents believe that international degree students are good for Finland and contribute to the society, the challengers believe that most international degree students do not stay in Finland, thus their contribution to the society comes as a loss. Therefore, the philosophy of this rationale views international degree students benefitting from the private returns of HE and at the same time not contributing much to the Finnish society.

> The fact is that most international students who complete a degree here in Finland, they do not stay in Finland after graduating. What is the point to educate, or give free education, to anyone who later does not contribute anything? I think this [charging tuition] is one way to decrease the risk of just providing free education for someone who leaves right after they got what they wanted. *–University Staff*

Of course, within this rationale there are those who bring in the development aid perspective, but quickly bring the argument back to consider what Finnish taxpayers should and would pay for.

> It would be great to have the same opportunities [free tuition] for everyone. I see the need especially for student applicants coming from Third World countries. But at the same time, this is a small country, so we can't afford educating the whole world with our taxpayer's money. *–Academic Staff*

The cost of HE is rarely discussed, however a few respondents refer to the cost when they discuss international degree students in light of the welfare system. One national respondent discusses how Finnish students pay for HE through taxes, thus international degree students should be expected to pay in some way also:

> Because the Finnish students actually pay for their education through taxes, thus, the foreign students, should in some way participate in the cost of their education because the welfare state is a social- scheme based on the idea that when we can afford to pay you, pay; and then when you are in need or are in the receiving end of various benefit systems including the education system. *–National Level*

New Finnish Export Needed

The topic of tuition fees moves some respondents to discuss the need for a new national export. HE as a commodity underlies this notion, especially HE as an export for fees-paying international students. In 2009, the Ministry of Education created a working group to investigate the challenges and opportunities of developing Finnish HE into an export. The final recommendations include, "Finland's strengths in the education field must be utilised and education must be developed into successful export articles for Finland." This is a timely topic now that the Finnish multinational communications and information technology company Nokia, known as the successful export business, struggles to compete in the global economy. Since 1998 Nokia was the world's largest maker of mobile phones, but in the first quarter of 2012 Nokia lost its lead to Samsung with numerous layoffs throughout Finland (BBC, 2012). Thus, the search for a new export business is a pressing topic. Some respondents mention how education could potentially be the next export, particularly considering the reputation of Finland's educational system with the strong OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)[23] results. Since 2000, Finnish pupils have scored at or near the top of all three PISA competencies

[23] PISA is an international evaluation assessing the scholastic aptitude (reading, mathematics, and science) of 15 year olds. The evaluation is administered every three years.

(Ministry of Education, 2012e). Sahlberg (2011) claims that Finland's success on the PISA evaluation is a result of the country's focus on educational equality and the high regard for the teaching profession rather than the international trend to promote competition among teachers, students, and schools. He calls this market-oriented international trend the Global Educational Reform Movement (GERM) as opposed to the "Finnish Way".

One respondent reflects on the idea of HE as an export considering the downfall of Nokia and the international reputation that the PISA results affords the Finnish educational system:

> It's not only about charging tuition fees but some people talk about a new Nokia. Finland has to try to develop a new export article. Since our education system is quite highly valued in many countries because of our success in the PISA studies they feel that we should take advantage of that good reputation even though it's only primary school that these studies are about. —*University Administrator*

Finland depends on their export business for national economic development. Here a respondent discusses how important exports are for not only a robust Finnish economy, but more importantly to maintain the welfare system.

> Because we are a small nation and we are completely dependent on our position in the global market, we are very dependent on our export and the income from exports so that we can maintain this very good level of public services in the country. –*National Level*

Summary

This chapter brings to light two diverse discursive formations that incumbents and challengers use to protect or change the status quo surrounding tuition fees in Finland. Over the years, the discourse on both sides of the issue has become normalized through reoccurring discussion and collective strategic actors' social skills. The incumbents construct shared meanings and understandings and spread their rationales through public domains: demonstrations, lobbying Parliamentary members, writing newspaper articles, etc., whereas the challengers share their rationales through working groups, closed door meetings, etc. The two discourses are emblematic of what Slaughter & Rhoades (2004) call the public good/learning regime (incumbents) and the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime (challengers).

The incumbents support a public good/learning regime as they use the gate theory to support a basic tenet of the Nordic welfare state, educational equality. They protect the “social contract” between the state and the citizenry that HE should be equally accessible to all. Their discourse resists academic capitalism and opposes the idea of market forces turning the student into a consumer. Their idea of HE as a public good extends beyond national borders. In general, they believe that Finnish HE should be open to international students without prohibitive tuition fees, especially for those coming from developing countries. This notion is based on the idea that international students are good for Finland culturally, socially, and economically. Thus, tuition generally is thought to be contradictory to national efforts to internationalize HE.

On the other hand, the challengers’ rationales shift away from the public good and a new discourse emerges. This discursive formation proselytizes HE as a private good supporting the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime. The challengers utilize market-oriented rationales of quality, global competition and revenue generation to argue for tuition fees. They paint a picture that Finland lags behind the international competition and that the national welfare system is in trouble with the looming challenge of the aging population. While the contextual elements of the rationale are unique to the Finnish situation, the adopted discourse follows the academic capitalism regime advocating for market instruments in the form of tuition fees.

In SAFs, both the public good and academic capitalism regimes may “coexist, intersect, and overlap” (Slaugher & Rhoades, 2004, p. 29).There is one rationale, with over 50 years of history, which continues to be a powerful ideology for all strategic actors in the field: educational equality. It is the rationale that ignites political sensitivity and contention in the SAF. Incumbents use the idea of educational equality to mobilize others by appealing to their emotions. On the other hand, it is the rationale that challengers acknowledge and step lightly around, yet continue to construct counter welfare state arguments such as the needs of the aging population. As the evidence shows, the academic capitalist knowledge/learning discourse does not replace the public good regime; however, the emergence of new market-oriented discourses brings new challenges to the status quo.

While these national rationales for and against tuition fees continue to fuel the debate in Finland, from an international comparative perspective the Finnish rationales are unique. Cost sharing rationales differ according to complex national ideologies (Johnstone & Marcucci, 2010). For example, in the US after the HE enrollment growth in the1960s there was a need for additional financial resources (Hansen, 1970). A lively debate ensued around proposals to increase tuition fees. One argument that fueled the debate was that no or low tuition fees did not support equal opportunity of HE: “A low tuition policy by itself tends to channel more subsidies to higher-income groups” (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973). Thus, a prevailing rationale for increased tuition fees was the idea of income redistribution: increased student aid for those who could not afford HE and increased tuition fees for those who could afford HE. In the end, higher tuition fees were supported by advocates from both political parties (democrats and republicans), as the democrats (left-leaning politicians) rationalized higher fees as greater equality of opportunity through income distribution and the republicans (conservative-leaning politicians) supported higher fees as a way for students to pay a greater share of the cost. In the 1970s federal and state methods of funding higher education shifted from direct institutional support to indirect student financial aid, thus driving HEIs to increase tuition fees to capture the government subsidies (Rusk & Leslie, 1978). Marcucci & Johnstone (2007), in the International Comparative Higher Education and Finance Project, cite the redistribution of income from the wealthy to the poor as a common international rationale for tuition fees. However, in the tuition pilot program in Finland redistribution of income was not central to the debate for and against tuition fees, primarily because the tuition fees were only being proposed for international students. While the student union advocated for a needs-based scholarship program to accompany the pilot program, governmental unit actors and university administrators quickly shot this down as there is no universal way to assess income levels of international students due to different national taxation systems.

CHAPTER 6

UNIVERSITY RESPONSES

This chapter considers how actors at two Finnish universities respond to the opportunity to collect tuition fees. The previous two chapters set the stage for this final chapter highlighting the inner workings of the strategic action field (SAF) in Finland. As the 20-year historical narrative unfolds, Chapter 4 identifies the various collective strategic actors in the field: the incumbents, challengers, and governance units. Chapter 5 highlights the discursive social skills that collective actors employ as they influence others through rationales for and against tuition fees. Using these two chapters as a foundation, this chapter further discusses the SAF by exploring how actors influence the field at the institutional level. A multiple case study approach exposes how the actors in two higher education institutions (HEIs), University of Jyväskylä (JYU) and Aalto University, respond to and influence tuition pilot program decisions. This chapter is guided by the research question: How are different Finnish institutions and actors (strategic action field actors) responding to the tuition fee pilot program introduced in 2010?

First, the overall response, in terms of the number of international degree masters' programs (IDMPs) collecting tuition fees, is discussed and analyzed. Then, the decision making processes at the two universities are described, considering similar approaches as well as different approaches at each case site. Throughout the decision making process, the collective actors are identified as they try to influence the action of those making the decisions. Finally, an analysis considers how each university responds differently to the tuition pilot program and how the 2009 University Act legislation to differentiate universities influenced their unique responses.

Overall Response

In early 2010, the Ministry of Education released a list of select HEIs and IDMPs granting them authority to participate in the tuition pilot program. The original list included 131 IDMPs, but it grew to 146 by 2011 as new IDMPs were added. While the list granted authority to participate, the actual decision to collect or not collect tuition fees was left to the individual HEIs and IDMPs. Table 6 presents the IDMP response to the pilot program. JYU has 15 IDMPs on the Ministry's list and only one program, an Erasmus Mundus (EM) masters program, is collecting tuition fees. On the other hand, Aalto has 46 programs listed and a total of 14 programs, including five EM masters programs, are collecting tuition fees. Overall, a total of 24 IDMPs, including EM programs, are collecting tuition fees within the Finnish HE system.

Table 6

Response to the Tuition Pilot Program, 2012

	JYU	Aalto	All Participating HEIs (including JYU & Aalto)
Ministry's list of eligible IDMPs	15	46	146
IDMPs collecting tuition fees	0	9	
Erasmus Mundus IDMPs collecting tuition fees	1	5	
TOTAL IDMPs collecting tuition	**1**	**14**	**24**

(Ministry of Education, 2012d).

In the interviews, challengers express disappointment with the "small" number of IDMPs actively collecting tuition in the pilot program. For the challengers, the pilot program symbolized an opportunity, an opening in the SAF to move away from the status quo. Fligstein & McAdam (2012) would call this pilot program a "convulsive moment," a moment when the SAF is unstable and presents new opportunities for the challengers to improve their position by locating and exploiting such opportunities (p. 54).

A university administrator at JYU explains how the small participation means that there will be little evidence to base future decision making on:

> I'm worried about the situation because there are such few programs in this pilot at this moment; so how can we accumulate such kind of evidence that can be used for the decision making because decision making should be evidence based? Because there are only some programs and most of them are also from Aalto University; so how can the Ministry generalize on the basis of such kind of very, very tiny information and evidence? *–University Administrator*

Many challengers hoped for wider participation as this was the first opportunity to experiment with tuition fees in Finland. Another university administrator at Aalto University expresses frustration with the lack of participation and subsequently the small scale of the pilot program.

> This kind of experiment it's peanuts, it's a very small scale experiment. The money we are putting into it is little as a whole. So personally, I think this is like playing in a small sandbox so it's somehow frustrating. But anyway I think that Aalto has been the most active university in Finland in this area. *–University Administrator*

Even the government unit respondents communicate disappointment by the small number of participating IDMPs:

> At least, we, here at the Ministry, think that we have received a different kind of message from higher education institutions that there was a desire to introduce tuition fees. But, of course, we understand that because there are so many restrictions in this trial that it has been difficult. *–National Level*

As challengers, the university administrators at both case sites convey "worry" and "frustration" with the small participation because this means that future decisions on tuition fees continue to be political; "It is clearly a political decision and especially now that we are not going to get very much evidence about the influence of this system; I think it will be mostly a decision for or against the equal access to higher education" (National Level). For most challengers the pilot program represents an opportunity to gain advantage in the SAF, but with the small participation very little is gained. For some respondents the pilot is futile: "This tuition pilot program failed because of the pre-conditions of the legislation" (National Level).

The pilot program legislation came with a few "pre-conditions" (e.g. mandatory scholarship program and five-year trial period) that many respondents mention as deterrents to participating. In Chapter 4, the 20-year historical narrative highlights how the incumbents (student union) strongly advocated for a scholarship program during government negotiations of the legislation. One respondent states, "The tuition fee opposition movement was so strong in the debate that the conditions for the pilot program were practically impossible to make it a successful program" (National Level). Another asserts, "It [the pilot program] is fairly limited and constricted in scope and forms of implementation so that the basic rationale behind such a pilot has been compromised to the degree that it's quite hard to see how it could produce results that would surprise anyone; which is, of course, part of the compromise that they formed in 2007" (National Level).

A specific provision of the legislation requires the creation of a mandatory scholarship program at the HEI level to accompany the collection of tuition fees. Finnish universities have never had a need to establish scholarship programs or create policies related to tuition and scholarships. Of course, a few of the selected HEIs and IDMPs have experience with tuition and scholarships because of their involvement in EM programs. However, even as EM participants there was no need to create a scholarship program because the scholarships were funded and administered by the European Commission (EC). Many respondents mention how daunting a proposition it is to develop the administrative capacity to collect tuition fees and disperse scholarships. When asked how a university prepares for the introduction of tuition fees and scholarships, one respondent answers:

> Thinking about policies, how much you charge, do you differentiate between fields of study; do you differentiate between different levels of study – those types of policy things but then also practical things such as: when does a student pay? In what form does a scholarships scheme come and is it full or partial fee waiver; or is it flat out money

> towards students? What happens if a student doesn't pay? Is there a mechanism to withdraw the right to study? *–National Level*

Another legislative provision that is mentioned as a deterrent is the small length of time (five years) given for the pilot program. Even though the legislation calls it a five-year pilot program, 2010-2014, for the two case site universities they only had four academic years to collect tuition fees (2011-12, 2012-13, and 2013-14) because most of the decision making occurred in 2010. Many respondents discuss how it takes time to market, promote, and build a reputation for IDMPs competing in the international fees-paying market. Here a respondent addresses the additional "investment needed":

> Even though a four-year pilot scheme might seem long, it's actually terribly short. Without any certainty of the continuity of the program and the grounds for the internal investment needed to get this up and running, the benefit of cost-risk ratio just isn't there. *–University Administrator*

> Universities and polytechnics claim that they don't know if it's going to be continued after 2014. So, they [HEIs and IDMPs academic staff] are not willing to even try. That would be very difficult for the programs to say that, 'Now we launch tuition fees and this is only for some years and then we don't know if it's going to be continued.' *–National Level*

Decision Making

While the overall response to the tuition pilot program (the actual number of IDMPs collecting tuition) may be considered small, the decision making process at each university is significant in the sense that this is the first time that Finnish HE actors are confronted with the option of collecting tuition fees. There are both similarities and differences to the decision making process at the two case sites. One similarity is the decentralized decision making approach of both universities. Decentralization is the transfer of decision making authority from top-down or central levels of state control to increased control at the local campus level. In the late 1990s the decentralization of management was one of the essential reform elements of the new public management (NPM) phenomenon in Europe (Pollitt, 1995; Ferlie et al., 2008). Since the 1997 University Act a strong element of Finnish HE has been the decentralization of management authority (Välimaa, 2001). The tradition of decentralized decision making is still very much a part of the Finnish HE management regime. While both universities take a decentralized approach to the decision making process, Aalto University (designated as Finland's "world class" university since the 2009 University Act) approaches decisions with different incentives and discourse. This next section presents how and what decisions each university made concerning the opportunity to participate in and collect tuition fees in the pilot program. First, the similarities in decision making are presented as both universities select all of their IDMPs as eligible programs to collect tuition fees. Then, the differences in decision making are described in dedicated sections for each case site.

Ministry of Education List of Participating IDMPs

In the fall of 2009, the Ministry of Education contacted all universities via email with a letter explaining the details of the tuition pilot program. The letter asked universities to select IDMPs suitable to participate in the pilot program. The administration at both universities selected all IDMPs offered within their respective institutions. A JYU administrator explains, "We entered all the programs in the government decree stating the programs which, in principle, would have been allowed to charge fees because we didn't know if any of them or none of them wanted to [participate]" (University Administrator). The IDMP academic coordinators at JYU did not seem to mind that their program was placed on the Ministry's list, as the ultimate decision to collect tuition fees or not still remained in their control.

> Our Rector decided to list all of our International Masters' programs on the list. At that point we were not even asked. It was fine by us because it was just an opportunity. So, we still had the possibility to decide if we wanted to [participate]. –*Academic Staff*

However, the JYU student union did not agree with the decision to include all IDMPs into the Ministry list. An incumbent explains, “We had to write a different opinion than the university because we did not [agree with their decision] because we wanted to show students and the people in the future that we did not support it [tuition fees]” (Student Union).

A similar process occurred at Aalto, wherein the university administrators decided to place all IDMPs on the list.

> I remember that we had a meeting with our leader group and we got this e-mail and I said let’s put every program and we had 46 master programs in English. So we put all English masters programs without asking these programs whether they wanted to be involved or not because my idea was that these are early options to have tuition fees. During the spring term we can ask programs what their expectations are and what kind of resources they need to make this happen. *–University Administrator*

One administrator at Aalto explains their commitment to giving the pilot program a try: “When we got this info about this possibility [to collect tuition fees] I was very strongly committed to make [participate in the] experiment because we have been discussing for too many years if it [tuition] is good or not without really testing what it means in practice” (University Administrator). This shows how committed most challengers were to facilitate the implementation of the tuition pilot program. This next section highlights the differences in how the individual case sites respond to collecting tuition fees.

University of Jyväskylä: “Senseless Pilot”

A train ride three and a half hours (270 kilometers) North of Helsinki brings you to the city of Jyväskylä, home to JYU. The city of Jyväskylä has 132,000 inhabitants (City of Jyväskylä, 2012), of which 14,578 are JYU students. The university sits in the lake district of Central Finland surrounded by the unspoiled Finnish forest. Originally a teachers’ college established in 1863, JYU now prides itself on seven faculties (humanities, information technology, education, sport and health sciences, mathematics, business and economics, and social sciences). Walking on campus takes you through the forest and delights the architectural senses with the organic modernism of campus buildings designed by the Finnish architect Alvar Aalto in the 1950s-1970s. The campus itself embodies a humble feeling, yet exudes history.

After all IDMPs were selected for the Ministry of Education list, the decision making at JYU took a unique path. Every year the Rector and the Deans of each faculty meet to discuss their annual negotiations "…about the future objectives and also the financial resources and strategic measures to be taken. It is within this strategic framework discussion the tuition fee pilot program had been touched upon" (University Administrator). It was during these negotiations when final participation of IDMPs in the tuition pilot program was discussed. The evidence shows that IDMP academic staff were involved in the tuition fee pilot decision making process. At JYU, the academic coordinators of all IDMPs meet a number of times a year. A respondent discusses how these meetings and gatherings of IDMP academic staff became a space where the pilot program was discussed, most likely perpetuating a collective resistance.

> …[tuition fees] has been an issue which has been discussed in those meetings more than once, several times actually. So we did have a pretty good idea about the opinion of other programs as well. In the end, each program made their individual decision but, of course, these discussions did influence all of us. —*Academic Staff*

This collective resistance against tuition fees during the first round of annual negotiations is described by an administrator:

> …during the first round [of negotiations], not a single faculty volunteered. Most of them were actually quite reluctant because there is a very strong feeling in Finland that tuition should be free. Even though the students are not native Finns and do not reside here, there is still the feeling that we shouldn't collect any fees. –*University Administrator*

The second year of the pilot program resulted in the same decision by faculties during the annual negotiations, although it was noted by a university administrator that some faculties were interested in the prospect of collecting tuition. However, as one respondent candidly explains the logistics of the pilot program, it "…seemed like a lot of hassle for very little money" (University Administrator).

Throughout the decision making process, the incumbents (JYU student union) were actively involved in influencing the decision makers. At that time, not only was the student union taking a stand against tuition fees, but they were also strongly arguing against other provisions in the 2009 University Act, specifically the restructuring of the university board composition. According to the legislation, public universities must have at least 40% of the board members external to the community (Ministry of Education 2012b). Thus, at JYU there was a threat that the number of university members (academic staff, university staff, and student unions) serving on the university board would be significantly decreased or eliminated altogether. If this were to happen, the voice of key HE actors in HEI decision making would be minimized. This is when the student union formed a coalition with both the university staff union and the academic staff union, hence mutually building resistance against tuition fees and university board restructuring. The coalition demanded continued representation of university members on the university board, albeit a smaller number, and was successful in their demands. Political coalitions are common in SAFs; they are based on cooperation, shared interests, and facilitate building a larger group to "coerce or compete with other groups" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 15). One student union respondent explains how these two legislative provisions (tuition pilot and university board restructuring) were linked issues.

> We wanted to have different university members (professors' union, university staff union, faculty deans, and student union) to have authority [a voice] in many levels here [at the university]. So, it was one of the discussions involved with the tuition fees [discussion] because we have our voice when we have people in the many levels of university, that it is really important. I was working with the different university members and we had the same opinions about things [board composition and against tuition] and we were a strong group together to say these things. –*Student Union*

Resistance to Collecting Tuition Fees

There were various reasons given why IDMPs chose not to participate. One of the most cited reasons was the lack of scholarship funding and administrative capacity. Without a scholarship program, IDMPs could not participate because of the legislative conditions. Here a respondent explains the scholarship predicament at JYU:

> Since we do not have any scholarship programs, we have no funds for scholarships, so where would the money come from? Well, from the tuition fees. Then there would be all sorts of administrative costs and also trying to figure out who could and who could not get a scholarship. *–University Administrator*

The one program collecting tuition fees at JYU is an EM masters program. Thus, there is no need to create and allocate funds for a scholarship program because the European Union (EU) scholarship program is already designed.

While the lack of scholarship program deters IDMPs participation, additional concerns included the lack of a real benefit to participation. Quite simply, one respondent explains, “I could not see any immediate benefit, it would have been a radical choice; risk aversion would have been the technical term to describe my attitude” (Academic Staff). Another academic staff respondent describes not only the lack of scholarship deterred their decision, but also the small number of non-EU students in their IDMP.

> We accept 20-25 students a year; about 50% of those are Finns and 50% who are from outside of Finland, and about half of them come from Europe. So, that would mean that we have about 20-25% of our students coming from outside of Europe, who, according to the law, could be paying the tuition fee. Out of the 20 or 25 students, we’re talking about 5 students a year. Then we started to count financially, if we charge tuition fee from four or five, six students a year, that wouldn’t be too much for us as income. However, the work that we would have to do for that, and, on the other hand, we didn’t have any scholarship system to support those who would have to pay the tuition fee and to start developing that on our own because we didn’t have any support by that time from the universities and we still don’t. So in the end, we thought that it would just mean so much more work for us with our pretty small resources, so it would not make too much sense. – *Academic Staff*

Another theme arising from the data in the resistance to collecting tuition is the perceived notion that IDMPs must be of a certain quality to participate. A university administrator explains how JYU is not ready to participate because IDMPs need to develop into quality programs before entering the international fees-paying market:

> The willingness to participate in this pilot programs, it's here; but because tuition is so new in Finland, institutionally we are not ready yet. We don't have enough good products, we don't have enough good programs, and the quality of the programs may not be as high as we want it to be. Therefore, we have been developing those programs in order to introduce tuition fees in the future. But, with these programs, we are not there yet. So it has been a continuous process and also we have evaluated, for instance, the language proficiency of teachers and organized also support for those teachers who are teaching in English. But we have been making many measures to enhance the quality of the programs and also to develop the content of those curricula. *–University Administrator*

Not All Administrators are Challengers

While most administrators in this study are identified as challengers, there are exceptions. As HE actors discussed the pros and cons and made decisions about collecting tuition fees, some JYU administrators began to view the pilot program no longer as an opportunity. One respondent notes, "Step by step, everybody, including myself, started to feel that this is a senseless pilot" (University Administrator). The pre-conditions of the pilot program (e.g. scholarship program and five-year pilot) became a particular obstacle to participation. Another administrator speaks to the opposition movement and how the collective resistance (not just in the student union) hampered participation in the pilot program:

> Resistance lies everywhere be it students' union or faculty level or even in administration at least individually. It divides people very clearly; there are different variations of this resistance. (I correct myself) everything is not resistance but let's say there is skepticism or uncertainty [about the tuition pilot program]. *–University Administrator*

However, even though some administrators resist the tuition pilot program, it is hard to say whether or not they oppose the pilot program because of the pre-conditions and unworkable nature of the legislation or whether they oppose the larger philosophy of collecting tuition fees in Finland. Regardless of the nature of the resistance, the incumbents' position against tuition fees at JYU remains the dominant logic until the next "convulsive moment" raises the opportunity for change.

Aalto University: "Adventurous Spirit"

Aalto University has three main campuses in the Helsinki Metropolitan area: Otaniemi, Arabia and Töölö. Otaniemi is the biggest campus, home to central administration and the four Schools of Technology (chemical technology, electrical engineering, engineering, and science). Arabia campus, located North of Helsinki, hosts the School of Arts, Design, and Architecture and the Töölö campus, located in the Helsinki city center, hosts the School of Business and Economics. The future development plan for Aalto University is to gradually make Otaniemi the central campus; in 2013, all bachelor-level programs will be located at this campus (Aalto University, 2012a). A twenty minute bus ride on #102 or #103 from the Helsinki city center takes you west across the waterways to the city of Espoo, the second largest city in Finland with 250,000 people. Internationally known as the centre of "know-how, research, and development," Espoo hosts international company headquarters, high-tech businesses, and Aalto University (City of Espoo, 2012). As you arrive, the campus resembles the look of a business park. Some buildings were designed by Alvar Aalto, including the student accommodations, Teekkarikylä, that house 2,000 students.

Working Group Recommendations

Aalto University followed a more formalized decision making process with the creation of a working group. In March of 2010, the President (rector) of Aalto University formed a working group with representatives from the different schools, administration, finance, student union, and academic staff to explore Aalto's position on the tuition pilot program. After four months of discussing issues and benchmarking tuition fees implemented in the Netherlands and Denmark, the working group released a final report in June of 2010. The final recommendations suggested the following actions (Aalto University, 2010):

1.) Participating programs: The recommendations suggested that for the "sake of quality and equality" all 46 programs should take part in the pilot and collect tuition fees.

2.) Tuition fee levels: The working group agreed that Aalto should position itself at a "high market value" (from EU €9,000 to €12,000 for business and from EU €5,000 to €8,000 for other disciplines).

3.) Scholarship scheme: The working group proposed that a scholarship program be developed including tuition waivers and a living cost supplement.

4.) Application procedure: Recommendations advocated for students to first be admitted into the IDMPs and then be considered for financial aid.

A representative from the Aalto student union served on the working group and was involved in the ensuing discussions. An incumbent candidly expresses the differing opinions between them and the working group, "It's good that Aalto University invited our representative to the working group in 2010 when they were preparing the trial but then again if they had done as the students wished we wouldn't even be implementing the trial" (Student Union). When the final report was released a "Note of Dissent on the Tuition Fee Working Group Report" was attached indicating the student union's "strong opposition against opposing overly heavy tuition fees on non-EU/EEA students" (Aalto University Student Union, 2010). The purpose of the note was not to oppose the pilot program in general, as there was an overall sentiment to the letter that the pilot program was going to happen and nothing could be done to stop it at that point. Rather, the purpose was to strongly argue against high tuition fees, such as those implemented in model countries such as the Netherlands and Denmark. The note addresses issues of international attractiveness and competitiveness of Aalto University compared to other European HEIs and how student choice is not solely based upon the quality of a program.

> Significant pitfalls for Aalto University are the location in the periphery of Europe, far away from significant business hubs; inability to guarantee that it is possible to finish the degree exactly as planned and failure to provide basic relocation services such as apartment and tutoring to all incoming students. These things considered, it seems unrealistic to copy the fee-level from universities in the heart of Europe that manage to provide a central location, more international academic community and superior level of services (Aalto University Student Union, 2010).

1.) Participating Programs

The leadership at Aalto made decisions based on the final recommendations of the working group report. While the working group recommendations informed the Rector's decision, not all recommendations were adopted as originally suggested. The first recommendation to have all IDMPs participate and collect tuition fees was not implemented as suggested. Rather, the Aalto leadership encouraged schools to select high quality flagship IDMPs within their area to collect tuition fees. The student union agreed with this approach which was the only positive sentiment included in their note of dissent:

> I want to express my happiness regarding the fact that the Aalto leadership has made the decision to only include selected flagship programs in the trial. This will guarantee that the fee-charging programs will be among the best that Aalto University can offer (Aalto University Student Union, 2010).

> So after a long consideration the leadership of Aalto, the Rector's meeting, they decided that they will only have certain flagship programs in this trial that are good quality enough to still attract students even if they have pretty high tuition fees. So after they had made this decision they asked from the schools if they would like to introduce certain programs and I think they advised the schools to choose only very good quality popular programs. So I was not surprised at all and actually AYY was also involved in lobbying for a lower number of programs. We thought that it would be a disaster if all the programs were introduced at once in a trial and the number of international students would drop drastically. So we were very glad when the Rectors decided that only 10 programs will be introduced. –*Student Union*

Before decisions were passed down to the dean and IDMP academic staff level, the university administration created a development fund to give seed money to each participating IDMP willing to collect tuition fees. “During the spring term we made a decision that every program that takes part in the experiment will get EU €25,000 to make the program more qualified, to promote teaching in English, and to prepare for the experiment” (University Administrator). Specifically, the development fund was to be used for “…administration of the program, development of the curriculum, tutoring and guidance, and communication and information given through the internet” (University Staff). The intention behind the development fund was two-fold, first to encourage IDMPs to participate and second to invest in the quality development of the participating programs. One respondent explains how the money coupled with an “adventurous spirit” encouraged challengers to come forward, “I think it probably takes a little bit of adventurous spirit also from the program head [IDMP academic staff] to want to be part of this and want to make some of the necessary changes but I am sure the money did not hurt” (University Administrator).

In the fall of 2010 decisions were made as to which programs would participate and collect fees beginning in the fall of 2011. The evidence suggests that the deans of schools and academic staff of IDMPs were the key decision makers at Aalto University. Each dean handled the decision making process in their own way. Some deans asked for volunteers to participate while others selected IDMPs to participate. One academic staff member describes how the Dean initiated the decision making process in their school:

> I heard about it from the Dean of our school and somebody else told me. I was sent information that if I’m interested, my program would be part of this new tuition fee program. So, I [replied] that it would be okay if we were involved and I had no objections. I didn’t have any feel for how much this tuition fee would influence the quality of applicants or the quality or quantity of those actually accepting places; so, I had no reason to refuse, I suppose. –*Academic Staff*

Yet, not all IDMP academic staff members were interested in participating in the pilot program. Here is a quote from a respondent who explains how their IDMP staff approached the decision, considering both the benefits and risks:

> There was a request from…either it came from the Vice-Rector or the Dean inquiring which international masters programs would like to participate in the tuition fees. At that stage, it was somewhat unclear what the possible benefit to the program would be. We thought that from our point of view, the only kind of potential attraction in this would be that maybe the programs that participate in this university initiative would get some kind of let's say, more prominent position within the university but this was a bit unclear of what was being offered. I think I even asked the Rector what it was and it was not clear how the program would really benefit from this. We simply thought that if we say 'no', we put ourselves in a somewhat relatively disadvantaged position. But then what would follow if we say, 'yes'? I think the risks of this decision kind of outweighed potential benefits to a 'no' decision. As far as I can see, this decision not to participate in the tuition fee experiment has not affected us in any way. We are continuing within more or less the same as we were before. *–Academic Staff*

Other academic staff members felt that they did not have a say in the decision making process. For example, this academic staff member remembers the decision coming from above:

> But I certainly can't remember who really made the decision, it wasn't my decision. It came from nowhere and like most of the decisions here I do not know where they do come from, somewhere from the top bureaucratic part and then you suddenly find out that you're in this new system. *–Academic Staff*

Despite different processes evolving during the decentralized decision making phase, 15 IDMPs out of 46 agreed to participate. Again, the issue of quality surfaces throughout the interviews at Aalto, just as it did in the JYU interviews. One respondent explains, "…if the school or unit has put up that program [to collect tuition fees] it means that they have already been screened in a way that they are okay and good quality" (University Administrator). Some of the decision makers were interested to take part in the pilot project, while others were not. A university staff member reflects on the difficulty in recruiting IDMPs to participate, as most IDMP academic staff members were satisfied with the status quo:

> It wasn't easy to find these programs because it's a totally new idea that students have to pay for their studies in the Finnish society. Most of our professors said, 'We don't like this idea at all.' Because the biggest university, University of Helsinki, didn't start this pilot our professors thought, 'why do we have to take part in this project?' *–University Staff*

The University of Helsinki is mentioned here because it is the university in Finland that has a strong national reputation as it is the largest and oldest university (University of Helsinki, 2012). The University of Helsinki has 31 IDMPs, but only three are participating in the tuition pilot program--all of which are EM programs.

Despite the resistance, the challengers (university administration) at Aalto University worked to recruit IDMPs to participate in the tuition fee pilot program. Strategic actors in the field, especially challengers, have the task of convincing "others who do not necessarily share interests that what will occur is consistent with their identity and interest" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 51). In this case, the challengers did this by attempting to cater to the interests of deans and academic staff. One university administrator speaks to the efforts made to encourage participation, a promotional tour and development fund incentivizing IDMPs. In the end, this particular administrator expresses disappointment in the low number of participants:

> It was free to take part; all 46 programs had this option. Of course we did a lot of work and I made promotion tours to make this happen more widely, but it was a voluntary decision for them. Also we promised to give each program that took part EU €25,000. I hoped that we could have more [participating programs]. *–University Administrator*

2.) Tuition Fee Level:

The final agreed-upon amount of tuition fees also diverged from the working group recommendations to create differential fees. A respondent reflects on the decision not to offer differentiated tuition fees:

> We had a discussion, what is the level of tuition fee and we decided that it should be the same in every program because we thought that it's too complex if we have different

> [fee] levels. So we decided EU €8,000 based on the tuition fee for the Erasmus Mundus programs and I think it was a good decision. *–University Administrator*

Under the guidelines set out by the EC, the maximum amount that an EM masters' program can collect is EU €8,000 per year. The EM scholarship, funded by the EU, is based on this maximum tuition amount. Since Aalto University hosts EM programs, some administrators and staff members are familiar with tuition and scholarship policies and procedures and thus feel more comfortable implementing the tuition pilot program. Thus, once again the SAF in Finland is influenced by the broader environmental field, namely the EU's policy instruments to encourage competitive pricing of HE and the diversification of income. A university staff member discusses how working with the tuition-based EM programs helps others in her school feel more at ease with implementing the tuition pilot program because they have experience in dealing with issues related to tuition and scholarships.

> We have two programs from our school [collecting tuition in the pilot], the reason is that we have been running Erasmus Mundus for years and we know what that discussion is. The professors knew the subject in a way. We did not need to convince [them how it works], 'Okay, don't worry.' But I think for such schools or programs that do not know anything about Erasmus Mundus or other fee-based programs, this is a very strange thing, I think. They might have doubts if this is going to work and so on. *–University Staff*

Since Finland has not charged tuition previously, there is a lack of information and discussion on the real cost of education. One respondent explains how this lack of knowledge pertaining to the cost of education in Finland results in the need to benchmark tuition prices from other sources.

> So, we took that [Erasmus Mundus tuition] as an example and that's it. That sounded like a reasonable amount. If you think about how we figured it out, what is the amount that we are going to charge? It is very hard to calculate some real cost of the teaching, for example, what is the cost of education? It can take quite a long time to figure it out. Yeah, so we thought that this EU €8,000 seems to be quite reasonable and it's the same amount for the Erasmus Mundus programs. *–University Staff*

Some community members of Aalto University experienced sticker shock when discovering the IDMP price tag of EU €8,000. “It was a bit of a surprise for me that [tuition fees] were this high [EU €8,000], but the reason was that we did not want to give an impression that we were a discount university within Europe” (University Staff). Because Aalto is expected to be the “world class” university in Finland in 2020, there is an assumption that tuition fees must be competitive with other “world class” universities; otherwise there is a risk of looking like a less prestigious university.

3.) Scholarship Program

The third working group recommendation called for a scholarship program covering both tuition and living costs. Money from the general fund was allocated to create such a program, which is unique from JYU’s lack of scholarship creation. As was the case at JYU, Aalto University did not have a centralized administrative unit to manage the logistics of a scholarship program. Hence, administrative staff, policies, and procedures were created. A tuition pilot program steering committee made up of administrators, university staff, and academic staff was formed to “discuss more deeply the practices and principles for the experiment” (University Administrator). “They [the tuition steering group] decide the amount of the tuition fee, scholarship allocations, amount of scholarships, whether or not we organize the language course for scholarship students, and whether or not we pay them health insurance” (University Staff). In the spring of 2011, a university staff member was hired to coordinate the scholarship program. With the guidance of a tuition pilot program steering group, the new administrative office created scholarship agreements for students, a tuition payment system, and a communication strategy to answer incoming questions from IDMP academic staff and prospective students. Academic capitalism suggests that as the academy moves closer to the market, interstitial organizations emerge in HEIs to “manage new activities related to generation of external revenues” (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 23). The development of a scholarship office demonstrates the rise of academic capitalism practices at Aalto University.

As presented in Table 7, the scholarship program offers three different and competitive scholarships. The “A” scholarship covers both tuition and living expenses. The “B” scholarship only covers tuition, while the “C” scholarship is a partial tuition waiver. All scholarships include university-sponsored health insurance and are awarded for two years. Students admitted but not awarded a scholarship are considered to be in scholarship “D” category and are provided health insurance, but must pay full tuition fees.

Table 7

Aalto University Scholarship Program, 2012

Scholarship Description	Scholarship "A"	Scholarship "B"	Scholarship "C"
Tuition	8,000 €	8,000 €	4,000 €
Living Expenses	8,000 €		
TOTAL per year	16,000 €	8,000 €	4,000 €

(Aalto University, 2012b)

One respondent says, “The primary idea was that around 70% of the students would get some sort of a scholarship and then 30% would go into category D [no scholarship]” (University Staff). But, the reality of this is far from the original intention (see Table 8). Out of a total of 81 students admitted, only 35 students enrolled, with only one student paying tuition.

Table 8

Numbers and Percentages of Students Admitted/Enrolled with Scholarships in Aalto University, 2011

Scholarship Category	Description	Targeted Percentage	Admitted		Enrolled	
			Number of Students	Actual Percentage	Number of Students	Actual Percentage
"A"	Tuition & living expense	10%	8	10%	8	23%
"B"	Tuition	25%	27	33%	18	51%
"C"	Half of Tuition	35%	32	32%	8	23%
"D"	No Scholarship	30%	14	17%	1	3%
TOTAL			81		35	

4.) Application Procedure

The fourth working group recommendation was followed as suggested. After IDMPs accept or decline applicants, they rank order all of the accepted applicants by academic merit. These ranked lists then go to the scholarship office where a centralized decision is made as to who receives the differentiated scholarship awards.

"Good Investment" or "Financially Absurd"?

With a small number of fee-paying students, Aalto University has received very little revenue from the pilot program. At the same time, the development fund, creation of the scholarship program, and administrative office have all come as expenses. While the administrators (challengers) explain that the amount invested in the tuition pilot program at Aalto is a good investment, the student union (incumbents) views it as being fiscally irresponsible. The incumbents and challengers at Aalto University demonstrate the opposing views in the SAF. A university administrator explicates the original estimate of revenue expected versus the financial investment needed to develop the pilot program at Aalto:

> There isn't any income. In the beginning I counted that we could make EU €10,000 but in practice we lost some of the full paying students. So it's a minus to us. But every student coming to Finland must have health insurance; it's about EU €7,000 or something. It's included in this tuition fee and then also we had some language courses and orientation period of nine days outside Helsinki and some extras for these tuition fees students. So, we've put a lot of money into it. We also have a coordinator for this experiment, so it's actually about EU €100,000 extra we put into the [tuition pilot program] to make it

> happen but I think it's worth that. Yeah, I think it's a good investment. *–University Administrator*

For the challengers at Aalto, while their social skills were tested because of the resistance in the field and the restricted legislation they maintained "solidarity and a positive collective identity in the face of lots of challenges" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 48). While the challengers look at the financial expenses as an "investment" the student union respondents speak about the "consequences" of the expenses.

> We are quite skeptical about the financial consequences of the tuition fee trial both from the perspective of the Finnish society and Aalto. If you look at how much income it has produced and how much it has cost to run this tuition fee trial, actually it has cost more than it has brought in money. Because most of the students who accepted their place in Aalto got a big scholarship as well and only a very small part of those who had to pay actually came to Aalto. When you take into account other costs that there are like coordinating the tuition fee trial and the health insurance and the Finnish language cost etc. it is clear that Aalto has paid more than it has got and that's why I think that financially it's a bit absurd that such a trial is being run. *–Student Union*

These two different perspectives from challengers and incumbents reveal the ongoing contention inherent in the SAF. Depending on their space in the SAF, collective strategic actors construct different interpretive frames of the situation (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

Summary

Social change can be understood through SAFs. This chapter highlights how actors at two HEIs influence the response to the tuition pilot program. Resistance to academic capitalism at JYU was felt at all levels, including the administration, resulting in only one IDMP collecting tuition fees. This individual IDMP was connected to the broader environmental field as the scholarship was funded by the EU demonstrating the supranational influence on tuition fees in Finland. In addition, a political coalition of incumbents formed to oppose not only the market-oriented tuition fees, but also the NPM restructuring of the university board. The incumbents at JYU managed to sustain their position in the struggle against the academic capitalism regime.

On the other hand, the situation at Aalto University indicates a move towards the academic capitalism regime. Both incumbents and challengers worked to influence the tuition pilot decision making. The student union (incumbents) publicly disagreed with the direction of the high tuition fees and opposed the market-oriented discourse with their own discourse. Aalto administration (challengers) implemented academic capitalist strategies (i.e. creation of interstitial organizations, development fund, etc.) to encourage academic staff to move towards the market. Some academic staff with an “adventurous spirit” decided to collect tuition fees and join the challengers’ movement. Conversely, other academic staff members opposed turning their IDMP into a commodity and/or did not see the benefit of participating in the tuition pilot program because of the pre-conditions of the legislation. For these reasons academic staff members were not named in the list of challengers and incumbents in Chapter 4 and 5. While they did have decision making power at these two HEIs they were not involved in influencing others for or against tuition fees in the SAF prior to the legislation being passed in 2009. Yet, when faced with the decision to participate in the tuition pilot program, academic staff members joined either the incumbent or the challenger movement. Most academic staff members chose to stay with the status quo and not participate in the pilot program, thus further strengthening the incumbents’ movement. At JYU the academic staff members came together to form a collective resistance against the tuition pilot program as they developed a coalition with the student union.

Academic capitalism suggests that the status and type of universities influence the way that each HEI responds to market opportunities. Aalto University was created with the aim of becoming the “world class” university in Finland. Aalto University is funded differently, receives more funding from the government, and there is more pressure to stand out from the other Finnish HEIs and act like a “world class” university.

> The birth history of Aalto University is very different. Aalto is meant to be very international, very competitive from the very start. So they want to be an active player also in the international higher education and research market so that is the rationale behind the whole development of the Aalto University. –*National Level*

There is an assumption that "world class" universities are prestigious and high-quality, thus expensive tuition fees are warranted. The challengers at Aalto leverage the resources readily available to them to entice others to participate in the tuition pilot program. In the case of the tuition pilot program, the move to the market at Aalto University is tempered by the decentralized decision making tradition in Finnish HE; decisions were made at the academic staff level where resistance and skepticism against tuition is still high. On the other hand, JYU is a regional university that does not have "world class" aspirations. When compared to Aalto University, it has fewer IDMPs and did not offer incentives (development fund) or infrastructure (scholarship office) to facilitate the participation of IDMPs in the tuition pilot. These differences demonstrate uneven development among HEIs, a key aspect of neoliberal economic organization (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2012). Traditionally, the Finnish HE system has been without institutional status hierarchy (Välimaa, 2010). Yet, the NPM reforms of the 2009 University Act have propagated a new hierarchy among Finnish HEIs.

Another important theme that surfaces in this chapter is how the provisions in the tuition pilot legislation operate as obstacles to participation. Reflecting back on the findings in Chapter 4, the incumbents fought hard for one of the provisions--a mandatory scholarship program. This provision was cited by many respondents at JYU as a barrier to participation. In addition, some academic staff members discussed how the five-year pilot was not a reasonable amount of time to "experiment" with tuition fees. There were even some respondents who said that they would have been more interested in participating if there was a longer gestation period. For these reasons, it is difficult to identify academic staff members as incumbents even though many of them made the decision not to participate in the tuition pilot program. If the pre-conditions of the legislation did not serve as obstacles to participation perhaps more academic staff members would have elected to participate.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In the previous three chapters, findings and analytical discussions are presented. Chapter 4 provides a foundational context of the 20-year historical narrative leading to the tuition fee pilot program. The evolving discourse shows how a cooperative narrative in the 1990s gave way to a more competitive narrative in the 2000s allowing for the tuition pilot program to emerge. In addition, this chapter identifies and introduces the strategic collective actors in the Finnish higher education (HE) field. Chapter 5 presents the discursive formation that collective actors employ to gain position for or against tuition fees. The rationales presented by the incumbents resist the academic capitalism regime, whereas the rationales used by the challengers promote a competitive and market-oriented discourse advancing academic capitalism. Chapter 6 illustrates how two higher education institutions (HEIs) respond differently to the opportunity to collect tuition fees. According to their unique institutional profiles, the challengers in the "world class" university are powerful and garner resources to promote collection of tuition fees. Conversely, the incumbents in the regional university maintain the status quo as only one Erasmus Mundus (EM) program collects tuition fees.

Summary of Major Findings

Collective Actors in the Strategic Action Field

This study employs two theoretical frameworks to give further explanation to the findings. The strategic action field (SAF) theory highlights how collective actors are instrumental in the Finnish HE field as challengers promote new public management (NPM) reforms mirroring academic capitalism practices while incumbents resist market-based reforms and struggle to maintain institutional arrangements. The opposing action between these two collective actors leads to a field rife with contention and the possibility of future change. The authors of SAF developed this theory to explain patterns of contention, change, and stability in meso-level fields.

In Chapter 4, a 20-year historical narrative demonstrates how the field dynamics evolved driving the issue of tuition fees from a taboo topic to a policy instrument. Examining the historical context provides an understanding about the current HE landscape in Finland (Välimaa, 2012). In the 1990s, Finland opened its borders allowing for more international cooperation and student exchanges within the European region. Challengers in the field gained position as Finland joined the European Union (EU) in 1995 and became more integrated and influenced by the global economy and European trends in HE reform. This was followed by a shift in the 2000s as the number of international degree students and international degree masters' programs (IDMPs) increased. As a result, the national discussion began to consider the impact of the increase in international degree students on the funding of Finnish HE.

At the same time, the wider field environment discourse became more market-oriented as EU strived to be among the world's most competitive knowledge economies. European HE was promoted as a key vehicle in attaining this goal, yet the discourse implicated European HE as lagging behind other knowledge economies. This led to the development of the Modernisation Agendas encouraging Member Countries to implement NPM reforms, such as the diversification of funding and more competitive measures to recruit international global talent. Finland, known as the "good pupil" in EU reforms, actively went about implementing the suggested reforms (Ahola & Mesikämmen, 2003; J. Välimaa, personal communication, Nov. 9, 2012). In the mid-

2000s the first Nordic country introduced tuition fees. While Finland was influenced by the wider field environment discourse and reforms, it also followed its own unique path because of the historical context and the collective actors in field. The incumbents struggled to maintain the status quo of a tuition-free HE system while the challengers adopted the European level discourse of a market-oriented HE system and advocated the introduction of tuition fees for international students.

The Finnish field of HE reforms comprises several groups of actors (many of whom have gained position over time), yet not all actors are actively involved in every reform and they assume different roles depending on the issue (Välimaa, 2012). In this study, the student union assumes the incumbent role as its members attempt to protect the welfare state value of education equality. Historically, the student union had been a key player in the HE field and is known for its role in protecting the rights of students. The student union is considered a breeding ground for future national leaders; many previous student union leaders now hold positions of power in politics, business, and the public sector. This network gives power to the student union voice and over time the respected role of the student union reproduces generation after generation.

It is important to note that many academic staff members may also be identified as incumbents because they chose not to participate in the tuition pilot program. However, most academic staff members were not involved in the political process to maintain the institutional structure of tuition-free HE. Of course, they held power in the SAF because they were the individuals who made the decision whether to participate, but they were not actively involved in galvanizing others. It can be said that they joined the incumbent movement when they made the decision not to participate, but even then this may not be true. The pre-conditions of the legislation (five-year limit and mandatory scholarship program) served as an obstacle for participation. Some academic staff members speak to how the pre-conditions of the legislation did not even allow them to make a decision about it because they could not participate without a scholarship offering, or they did not want to participate if there was a chance tuition would not be continued after the fifth year.

The incumbents are characterized in this study as resisting the shift of Finnish HE towards a market model. The incumbents aim to protect the public good of HE by defending the deeply rooted Finnish social welfare value of educational equality. In this sense, the incumbents aim to protect the social welfare system from neoliberal tendencies that privatize and move collective goals to individual responsibilities. Even though the tuition pilot program exclusively targets international students and not local students, there is fear that the tuition fee pilot program will gradually lead to tuition reform for local students as well. The actors in the SAF call this the "gate theory" and the incumbents use this rationale to influence others in the field. The gate theory suggests that once the gate opens for collecting tuition fees from international students, the gate will remain open and tuition fees will extend to EU and local Finnish students. According to the evidence, this justification against tuition fees makes the tuition debate politically volatile because it addresses the possibility of losing a cornerstone of the welfare state: tuition-free HE in Finland. Both incumbents and challengers speak to how tuition-free HE is an essential policy instrument of the welfare state aimed at maintaining equality and social mobility. Challengers acknowledge that this particular rationale makes the topic more sensitive and more difficult to oppose because it protects the basic values of society and democracy. In addition to this overarching rationale against tuition fees, incumbents argue that a tuition-free system supports international social justice and the introduction of tuition fees contradicts national internationalization efforts. The incumbents employ these rationales through social skills in the form of protests, demonstrations, lobbying the Parliament, and media to appeal to the emotions of individuals in the field.

On the other hand, the challengers are a more heterogeneous group of actors including some university administrators and individuals from the governance unit. Because of their positions in the university and the Ministry they are connected to the wider field environment through conferences, professional organizations, working groups, and other European initiatives and are influenced by the discourse and HE reforms. They also hold power in the field of HE because of their decision making abilities. Many of the challengers in the sample speak to how their perspective on tuition has shifted overtime. They have not always assumed a challenger role in the tuition debate but have gradually come to believe that tuition is necessary to sustaining the future of HE funding. There are two other group of actors that play a role in the challengers' movement. First, the academic staff members who chose to participate in the tuition pilot program were successfully recruited and joined the challengers' movement. Second, while the sample in this study did not include the politicians, the evidence shows that they are also powerful actors in the challengers' movement to introduce tuition fees. Most of the politicians assuming the challenger role do so because of the market-oriented principles of their political party. While most political parties share the belief that HE "benefits the development of the welfare state and the nation state" the main difference among parties lies in the HE steering mechanisms they promote; "the right-wing parties are more in favour of market-like mechanisms" (Välimaa, 2005, p. 264).

The challengers in the SAF believe that the Finnish HE system is not financially sustainable as a tuition-free system. Therefore, they advocate for more market-oriented practices, such as the introduction of tuition fees for international students. They assume that international student tuition will bring in a new line of revenue, remove the burden of paying for international students from the taxpayers, and help to relieve the anticipated future competition for public funding with the aging population. The challengers align with the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime and co-adopt discourse from the European field environment as well as leverage opportunities that help them gain position in the field. For instance, the challengers used the EM program as a justification for collecting tuition fees, so that Finnish HEIs could profit from the EU-sponsored tuition money.

Challengers use neoliberal discursive rationales that advocate for HE as a private good. First, they view tuition as a proxy for quality and competition. Second, they promote the financial benefits for the nation state in collecting tuition fees from international students. They believe that the aging population will squeeze public funds, thus decreasing the state funding for HE. Academic capitalism suggests that as state funds decrease, HE actors seek out external funding sources. In the Finnish SAF, the challengers follow this line of reasoning and claim that the collection of tuition fees may balance out the future competition for state funds. Finally, in their discursive formation for tuition fees they also discuss the taxpayers' burden of tuition-free HE for international students and the need for a new export.

Not only is the national context essential to the strategic action in the field, but influences from the broader field environment also impact the strategic action of the collective actors. The challengers and incumbents use the broader field environment to their advantage. The challengers are connected with the broader field environment through job-related networks and as a result are more influenced by the discourse and reforms. The discourse of the NPM reform movement in Europe becomes co-opted by challengers in the national field, as challengers discuss HE as an "export," the need for "diversification of income," and tuition as a proxy for quality. Challengers also leverage the structural opportunities provided by the EU in the EM program as an occasion to gain position in the field. On the other hand, incumbents also use the broader field environment to support the protection of educational equality. The supranational European Students' Union (ESU) publicly endorses the Finnish student unions' resistance of the tuition pilot program and provides training and other logistical support to empower their position in the field.

In the future, the market-based HE reforms may well be analyzed as what Fligstein & McAdam (2012) identify as a "rupture" or crisis in the field, but it is too early to call it that. The outcome depends on how and if the reforms brings about internal developments or destabilizing changes to the field, of which there is no indication presently. Fligstein & McAdam assert, "One empirical indicator of the crisis in a field is the inability of incumbents to reproduce themselves" (p. 176). As demonstrated in this study, the incumbents (student union) continue to reproduce themselves and hold power in the SAF. A crisis typically results in an "episode of contention" wherein the rules and power relations in the field are up for grabs.

Resistance and Promotion of Academic Capitalism

Academic Capitalism, nested within the SAF theory, illustrates how the collective actors in the field propagate market-orientation of HE. In Chapter 4, the challengers gain position in the field over a 20-year period as the narrative moves from a cooperative to a competitive spirit. The emergence of market-oriented discourse gives way to the University Act of 2009, a NPM reform package. Included in these reforms are mechanisms of an academic capitalism regime calling for budget reform based on outputs rather than inputs, increased ties with the industry as the composition of university boards change, and preferential funding for the newly merged "world class" university. The competitive discourse evolves as challengers promote tuition fees through various market-oriented rationales. Yet, the shift towards market-oriented behavior is tempered by the incumbents' resistance to the academic capitalism regime and their strong protection of educational equality.

As the theory of academic capitalism suggests, market-oriented behavior has differential effects according to the type of HEI. The evidence in this study illustrates how the "world class" university responds differently to the opportunity to collect tuition fees when compared to the regional university. While only a small number of IDMPs in the two case sites participate in the tuition pilot program, the majority of the participating IDMPs are located in the "world class" university. The Emerging Global Model (EGM) characterizing world class universities is based on moving the university closer to the market including the competition for global talent, pursuit of diversified funding (high tuition prices), and intensifying the alignment with industry (Mohrman et al., 2008). All of these characteristics of the EGM are emblematic of the strategies outlined by Finland's future "world class" university. The preferential funding for Aalto University allows the administrators to create an interstitial organization (scholarship office) to administer the university-funded scholarship program as well as entice participation in the pilot with incentive funding (development fund). These opportunity structures support an academic capitalism regime as HE actors are encouraged to participate in market-based practices through the introduction of tuition fees. The regional university, not vying for world class status, did not fund a scholarship program or offer incentive funding for participating IDMPs.

This study demonstrates an opening in the SAF allowing for the gradual emergence of academic capitalism practices in terms of competitive discourse, interstitial organizations, and new funding mechanisms. While this shift towards academic capitalism does not follow a block budget decrease, which is typical in many case studies presented by the authors of the theory, the shift follows two decades of national and European neoliberal change processes. Kauppinen & Kaidesoja (forthcoming) acknowledge that academic capitalism in Finland does not necessarily emulate how academic capitalism has engulfed the U.S. HE system. The cultural context is different and thus practices and institutional arrangements that work in one country develop differently in another country. However, while one can argue that Finland has not shifted to the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime, this study demonstrates that there has been a softening up to the regime.

Theoretical Reflections

Both theories applied to this study complement one other and at the same time offer unique levels of explanation to the Finnish tuition pilot program debate. The SAF theory was chosen to highlight social actors in the Finnish HE system and how they seek to protect or change social structures related to tuition fees. This theoretical approach moves away from the often used neo-institutionalism theory concerned with constraints and rules of the field. Rather, SAF theory incorporates diverse perspectives from field theory exposing the agency of collective actors to enact stability or change in the social structure. The novel and ambitious SAF theoretical project couples the sociology of organizations with social movement theory resulting in an abstract theoretical approach to empirical research. Yet, in this study, application of the SAF theory offers explanatory power on many different fronts. Applying a few central conceptual elements of the SAF theory allows for a deeper understanding of the tuition debate in Finland:

- Naming the field(s) of inquiry and Analyzing the broader field environment,
- Identification of the incumbents, challengers, and governing units, and
- Exploration of the modal strategies, social skills, and collective action frames employed by collective actors.

While this study only provides a snapshot (a 20-year span) of the stable Finnish HE SAF approaching the introduction of tuition fees, a broader time span could uncover other key conceptual aspects of the SAF theory (i.e. emergence of the SAF and exogenous shocks in relation to the tuition debate). The second theory, academic capitalism, nests within the SAF theoretical framework as it explains more specifically *why* and *how* some HE actors in the SAF intersect with markets. Together these two theories offer explanation to the Finnish HE SAF and the collective actors within who are influenced by the larger neoliberal movement to move universities closer to the market

First, the SAF theory helps to define operationally the field being studied. In this case, the wider Finnish higher education system was selected as the SAF. While this study focused in on actors and institutions in the SAF, field theory is much more expansive and considers the broader field environment. Using Fligstein & McAdam's (2012) image of the Russian matryoshka dolls helps to demonstrate how the chosen SAF is nested inside other SAFs. For example in this study, the Finnish higher education system is nested within the national system which is nested in the Nordic region which is nested in the European region and so on. The authors of SAF claim that all fields are embedded in a "dense network of other fields" (2012, p. 203). All of these SAFs in the broader field environment influence the evolution of the Finnish higher education system SAF and more specifically the tuition pilot program. This study, however, does not aim to explore the "dense network," but rather relies on a few influential and interdependent SAFs to draw analytical relationships between the macro, meso, and micro SAFs. In this sense, the SAF theory helped frame the fields of inquiry.

Second, the theory offers a framework to unpack the resistance found in the field. Without SAF, academic capitalism alone would not have explained the nature of the incumbents or the structure and agency they apply to stabilize their position and protect the status quo. SAF theory helps to identify and locate the key players in this study: the incumbents, challengers, and governing units. Third, together with academic capitalism, the SAF theory explicates the various narratives used by the incumbents and challengers. These rationales for and against tuition fees, are one of the main methods that the key players attempt to gain position in the field. The narratives are a form of what the SAF authors call “social skills”, similar to Bourdieu’s “habitus”. The SAF theory takes strategic actors as both meaning-making collaborative actors and as actors constrained and privileged by their position in the SAF. In this sense, the theory allows for deep identification of the actors in consideration of their social skills, location and position in the SAF and society, and their relationships to other actors. As the structure of the SAFs change to become more oriented towards neoliberal tendencies, academic capitalism explains why university actors shift towards market logic and how institutional structures change to allow for more market-oriented activities. For this study, incorporating the theory of academic capitalism further explains the specific change process in the SAF: the challenger’s market oriented behavior and discourse.

Of course with any theory application there are shortcomings. One critique of the SAF theory is how the authors treat state organizations as governing units, aligned with the incumbents. As this study demonstrates, the governing units have their own agenda that do not always align with the desires of the incumbents. Most often, the governing units discourse parallels with the European level NPM narrative. Several political sociologists contend that the state should be analyzed as an autonomous entity (Goldstone & Useem, 2012; Skocpol, 1979), not as Fligstein & McAdam (2012) align them with the incumbents.

Future of Tuition in Finland

The future will become more apparent as the tuition pilot program concludes in 2014 and the Parliament is faced with a decision to extend the pilot program, discontinue it, or implement tuition fees for international degree students. Historically, when a Finnish pilot program is conducted, a program evaluation typically aids politicians in making decisions for future reforms. However, with the small participation in the tuition pilot program the evaluation has garnered limited results.

> To be frank, this trial will not show much because the number of programs involved is quite small and the number of students actually who are charged is very small. So, it's very difficult to make any conclusions out of this trial. –*National Level*

Thus, it is expected that the decision will be another political decision, not based on evidence. This means that the collective actors, both the incumbents and the challengers, will once again rise to the occasion and attempt to influence other actors in the SAF.

Since it will be a political decision, there are many factors that will likely influence the Parliamentary decision. First, the decision will depend on which political parties are in power when the decision is made. Many HE actors speak to how the decision needs to be made in 2013 in order to continue or discontinue tuition fees in the participating IDMPs. The last Parliamentary election was held in 2011 and a national coalition government was formed by six parties for a four-year term. This coalition government will make the decision for the future of tuition fees in Finland. In 2007, the coalition government that negotiated the tuition pilot program comprised four parties; two of the parties (Green Party and Centre Party) could not find consensus, thus a compromise was reached that resulted in the tuition pilot program. The Green Party, which was against tuition fees in 2007, is part of the current coalition government and will likely follow their platform against tuition fees. However, the Centre Party, which was for tuition fees in 2007, is no longer in the coalition government. The leading party in the current coalition government is the National Coalition Party known for being pro-European and pro-market. A similar struggle may occur in 2013-14 because there are various parties with competing agendas.

Second, the political economy in Finland and Europe may impact the decision. With the ongoing four-year European debt crisis, the gross domestic product (GDP) growth in Finland is at risk as European investment continues to decline. In September 2012, the government voted in new austerity measures (budget cuts and new taxes) to bring down the deficit to 1% by 2015; the package will save EU €2.3 billion in 2013 (Ernst & Young, 2012). Subsequently, in December 2012, Finland slipped into economic recession after the GDP declined for two consecutive quarters (Statistics Finland, 2012). This allows the challengers within the coalition government to gain position because more austerity measures may be proposed with the forecast for a poor economic outlook. Cutting public spending for international students and increasing the profit-taking opportunities in the international student market seems like an easy answer to economic troubles; however, it is more complicated if challengers also want to sustain international student enrollment numbers.

Third, looking west to the Nordic neighbors, the situation in Sweden does not give a favorable impression of introducing tuition fees in Finland. Sweden introduced tuition fees in 2011 and experienced a 58% drop in the number of non-EU students enrolling in IDMPs (Myklebust, 2011). As a way to win back international students, the Swedish government then voted to double the amount of grants for non-EU students in the 2013 budget from SEK 50 million (EU €5.8 million) to SEK 100 million (EU €11.6 million) (Myklebust, 2012). This demonstrates that adding a price to a formerly free education comes with its own costs. Through experience, Sweden has realized that placing a high tuition fee on an IDMP does not automatically result in the attraction of global talent or revenue generation.

Without tuition, Finnish HE stands out as an alternative model to the HE market model that continues to gain global footing. Finland does not need to succumb to the global script of HE reforms to be successful. For example, Finland is a leader in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA); Sahlberg (2011) contributes the success to the “Finnish Way” of educational reform rather than following the market-based Global Educational Reform Model (GERM). The alternative model is based on the Nordic welfare model of universalism and equality. Yet, whether this alternative HE model can be sustained as fiscal and competitive pressures mount is ultimately the question that will likely tip the conflict between the challengers and incumbents. If a tuition-free HE system can be fiscally sustainable, the incumbents will likely be able to hold off the challengers in this upcoming round of negotiations.

Policy Implications

The findings in this study suggest that Finland needs to create a national strategy for international students. Numerous conflicting rationales exist for recruiting international students to pursue a degree in Finland. First, there is the notion that international students will bring in additional revenue through tuition fees. While some challengers believe revenue generation to be a reason to introduce tuition fees, the results of the pilot program have shown otherwise. Combined, the two case sites only have one enrolled student paying full tuition fees. More than likely there was more money invested into developing the infrastructure and scholarship program than there was money generated from tuition fees. Second, some people in the field speak to how international degree students add an important and needed international component to Finnish HEIs. Recruiting international degree students has also become a strategy for HEIs to internationalize at home. Yet, there is limited emphasis on integration of international degree students with traditional Finnish degree students.

Third, many respondents in this sample discuss the need for global talent in the Finnish labor market as forecasts show a gap between future workforce needs and the expected number of skilled workers available. However, the language of the labor market (Finnish) and the language of IDMPs (English) does not facilitate international students staying in Finland after graduation. Ultimately, the biggest question that Finland needs to grapple with is whether the Finnish society wants to invest in international students (absence of tuition fees or addition of scholarships) or if the society does not want to invest in international students and instead have international students pay for their experience.

There are also questions about the capacity of Finnish HE and whether there are enough study spots for international students. With a competitive enrollment system for traditional Finnish degree students, can Finland afford to allocate student spots to a growing number of international students? At what point will the number of international students hit the glass ceiling or a tipping point? Compounding this issue even further are the OECD economic surveys that recommend more efforts to send Finnish students abroad for HE, since there is not enough capacity in Finnish HEIs.

Future Studies

This study focuses solely on some HE actors in the Finnish SAF, future studies might include other powerful actors in the HE policy arena such as the politicians. Exploring the networks of political connections between the student union and various political parties would be a way to further demonstrate the student union involvement in the policy arena. Interviewing politicians would also add to the depth of the debate for and against tuition fees.

Finland is not the only Nordic welfare country to enter the international student market. Future research may lead to examining whether small Nordic countries, such as Denmark, Finland, and Sweden, can compete in the international student market when they are competing with bigger and more attractive countries dominating the international student market, such as Germany, France, and the U.K. A comparative study comparing Denmark, Sweden, and Finland's move to introduce tuition fees would showcase how three Nordic countries approach the commodification of HE similarly and/or differently.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Timelines

Internal & External Influences on a Changing Finnish Higher Education System Timeline

1950s	Rapid expansion of Finnish higher education begins
1960s-90s	Implementation of social welfare objective: equal access to education
1986	Finland joins European Free Trade Association (EFTA)
1990-92	Economic recession in Finland
1990	Finland participates in the EU Comett II program
1991	Centre for International Mobility (CIMO) established under auspices of Ministry of Education
1992	Finland participates in the EU Erasmus program
1992	Parliament considers tuition fees for Finnish students
1995	Finland leaves EFTA to join the EU
1999	Finland signs Bologna Declaration
2004	The EU Erasmus Mundus program begins
2006	Denmark begins collecting tuition fees from non-EU students (August)
2009	Internationalisation Strategy for Finnish Higher Education released by Ministry of Education (January)
2009	The Finnish Council of University Rectors becomes a registered association: Universities Finland (UNIFI) (May)
2009	University Act passes (June)
2010	Sweden passes legislation to introduce non-EU tuition fees in 2011-12 academic year (June)
2012	Sweden passes legislation to double the grants for international students
2012	Finland slips into economic recession (December)

Tuition Pilot Program Timeline

February 2005	Tuition committee announced by Minister of Education
March 2005	Tuition committee participants named
May 2005	Student Union released a report and findings on a survey of foreign degree students' perception on Finnish higher education
August 2005	Tuition committee releases final report to the Minister of Education (August 23) and recommends tuition
February 2007	Parliament divided on tuition fees
April 2007	Government Statement to Parliament includes tuition pilot program
December 2007	Education and Research Development Plan (2007-2012) includes the tuition pilot program
August 2008	Tuition fee pilot program included in the University Act of 2009
February 2009	National day of tuition protests (February 19)
February 2009	University Act of 2009 sent to parliament (February 20)
June 2009	University Act of 2009 passes 168 to 16 (June 21)
October 2009	Ministry appointed Monitoring & Evaluation Working Group for pilot program
January 2010	University Act comes into force (January 1)
March 2010	Aalto University creates tuition fee working group
April 2010	Student protests
June 2010	Aalto working group releases final report and recommendations
December 2011	Education and Research Development Plan (2011-2016) includes the evaluation of the tuition pilot program
April 2011	Aalto University hires scholarship coordinator
August 2011	First tuition fees are collected at Aalto University

Appendix B

Recruitment Letter

Dear <<First>> <<Last>>,
My name is Leasa Weimer and I am a visiting doctoral candidate at the University of Jyväskylä. The purpose of this letter is to request your participation in a research project I am conducting. I have received grants from the U.S. Fulbright program and the American-Scandinavian Foundation to examine the introduction of tuition fees in Finland.

This fall I am collecting data for my dissertation entitled *Introduction of Tuition Fees: A Case Study of Finnish Higher Education*. Through this qualitative case study I seek to interview policy makers, academic leaders, and university administrators to discover the various rationales, decision-making processes, and impacts of the shift from a tuition-free university system in Finland to a more entrepreneurial and fees-based higher education system for international students.

I would appreciate the opportunity to include you in my study. Your participation will involve answering questions about the introduction of tuition fees in Finland and should only take about 60 minutes. The interview will be audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed within the context of this study. At a later date, you may be asked to participate in a second interview. Your involvement is, of course, voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time. The only people who will know that I am a research subject are members of the research team. No individually-identifiable information about you, or provided by you during the research, will be shared with others. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used. In fact, the published results will be presented in summary form only. Your identity will not be associated with your responses in any published format. Recordings of the interviews will be destroyed upon completion of the project or no later than December 31, 2012.

There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to e-mail at leasa@uga.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Sheila Slaughter at slaughtr@uga.edu or by phone at (001)706-542-0571. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 629 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; telephone (001)706-542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu. Thank you in advance for your support of my doctoral studies.

I look forward to the opportunity to meet with you and learn from you. Please keep this email for your records.

Sincerely,
Leasa Weimer, leasa@uga.edu
Visiting Researcher, University of Jyväskylä
Doctoral Candidate, Institute of Higher Education, University of Georgia, USA
Fulbright & American-Scandinavian Foundation Grant Recipient

Appendix C

Abridged Recruitment Email Letter

Dear <<First>> <<Last>>,

Terve, my name is Leasa Weimer, I am a visiting researcher at the University of Jyväskylä. <<First>> <<Last>> suggested I contact you. I have received a Fulbright-CIMO grant and an American Scandinavian Foundation grant to explore the inception of tuition fees in the Finnish system of higher education. The purpose of this email is to request a meeting to discuss the tuition fee pilot program.

Through interviews and document analysis, I am collecting data for my Ph.D. dissertation. I will interview policy makers, university academic staff, and administrators to discover the various rationales, decision-making processes, and impacts from the introduction of fees (for some) international students. I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to include you in my study. The interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed.

Below are some dates when I will be visiting Helsinki. If these dates do not work for you, please let me know and I can offer dates later in March.

February 21 (available 9:00, 10:00, 11:00, 11:30, 15:00, 15:30, 16:00)
February 22 (available anytime after 11:30)
February 23 (anytime)

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Ystävällisin terveisin,

Leasa Weimer
Visiting Researcher, University of Jyväskylä
Doctoral Candidate, Institute of Higher Education
University of Georgia, USA
Fulbright & American-Scandinavian Foundation Grant Recipient
leasa@uga.edu

Appendix D

Interview Guide

Questions for National Level Respondents:

Q1: *Why has Finland introduced a five-year pilot program to collect student tuition fees for students outside the EU?*

A.) In your opinion what led to the introduction of tuition fees in Finland? (History)

B.) When did the government/Ministry begin discussing the possibility for introducing tuition fees?

C.) Who/what initiated the initial discussion for tuition fees? (Influences)

D.) What influences led to the introduction of the pilot program? (Influences)

E.) Why was this the RIGHT time for a pilot program?

F.) By implementing tuition fees for some international degree students what changes do you anticipate in the Finnish higher education system?

G.) What criterion was used for selecting the 131 English-language masters programs to be included in the five-year pilot program?

Q2: *What are the different rationales that actors, both incumbents and challengers, use to guide and/or enact social change or stability concerning the introduction of tuition fees in Finland?*

A.) Describe the support and/or resistance for and against tuition fees.

B.) Who is supportive and/or resistant to the pilot program?

Q3: *How are different Finnish institutions and actors (strategic action field actors) responding to the tuition fee pilot program introduced in 2010?*

A.) What would a successful pilot program look like?

B.) What future struggles/challenges do you foresee with the introduction of tuition fees?

C.) What do you think will happen (with tuition fees in Finland) after the pilot program concludes? (Future)

D.) Now that the implementation of the pilot program is underway, is there anything that has surprised you about the ways that universities have responded?

E.) What will this new stream of revenue be used for?

Questions for Academic Staff, University Administrators & University Staff:

Q1: *Why has Finland introduced a five-year pilot program to collect student tuition fees for students outside the EU?*

I am interested to learn more about the background of Finnish higher education and the evolution of introducing tuition fees.

A.) In your opinion what led to the introduction of the pilot program in Finland? (History)

B.) What influences (political forces/economic environment) led to the introduction of tuition fees? (Influences)

C.) Why was a pilot program introduced?

Q2: *What are the different rationales that actors, both incumbents and challengers, use to guide and/or enact social change or stability concerning the introduction of tuition fees in Finland?*

A.) Can you describe the resistance against tuition fees and also the support for the tuition fees at the University of ____?

B.) What did you do to influence the decision?

C.) Do you support the idea of tuition fees for international degree students in Finland?

D.) Why did your college/university decide to (not) collect tuition fees?

Q3: *How are different Finnish institutions and actors (strategic action field actors) responding to the tuition fee pilot program introduced in 2010?*

A.) How did your college or university decide to collect or not collect tuition fees? What process was used?

B.) Who made the decision(s) and who else was involved in the decision-making process?

Supplemental questions:

C.) How did the first year implementation of the pilot program impact administrators, faculty, and students? How have things changed in your department/university? How are international student recruitment and services changing with the introduction of tuition fees? What will this new stream of revenue be used for?

D.) Why do you think there was so little interest in participating in the pilot program?

Final Questions:

A.) Were there any pleasant/unpleasant surprises with the introduction of the tuition pilot program?

B.) In your opinion, do you anticipate tuition fees to spread to other parts of the Finnish system of higher education?

C.) How do you think the Ministry is measuring success of the pilot program?

D.) Is there anything else I should know?

Questions for Student Union members:

Q1: *Why has Finland introduced a five-year pilot program to collect student tuition fees for students outside the EU?*

A.) In your opinion what led to the introduction of tuition fees in Finland? (History)

B.) What influences led to the introduction of the pilot program? (Influences)

C.) Why was this the RIGHT time for a pilot program?

Q2: *What are the different rationales that actors, both incumbents and challengers, use to guide and/or enact social change or stability concerning the introduction of tuition fees in Finland?*

A.) Describe the support and/or resistance for and against tuition fees.

B.) Who is supportive and/or resistant to the pilot program?

C.) What is the official stance of the student union and why?

Q3: *How are different Finnish institutions and actors (strategic action field actors) responding to the tuition fee pilot program introduced in 2010?*

A.) Were you or the student union involved in the pilot program decision making at ___?

B.) How was the decision made? Did the student union have a voice in the decision? What influence did the student union have on the decision making process?

C.) What future struggles/challenges do you foresee with the introduction of tuition fees?

D.) What do you think will happen (with tuition fees in Finland) after the pilot program concludes? (Future)

E.) Now that the implementation of the pilot program is underway, is there anything that has surprised you about the ways that universities have responded?

F.) What will this new stream of revenue be used for?

Appendix E

Informed Consent Form

I, ________________________________, agree to participate in a research study titled "Introduction of Tuition Fees: A Case Study of Finnish Higher Education" conducted by Leasa Weimer from the Institute of Higher Education at the University of Georgia, USA (+001-706-542-1278) under the direction of Dr. Sheila Slaughter, Institute of Higher Education, University of Georgia, USA (+001-706-542-0571). I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed within the context of this study. At a later date, I may be asked to participate in a second interview. I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at anytime without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed. I understand that recordings of the interviews will be destroyed upon completion of the project or no later than December 31, 2012.

The purpose of the research examines the introduction of tuition fees in the Finnish higher education system. This study will help to understand the rationales underlying the introduction of tuition in a social welfare state, to identify and analyze institutional decision-making and behavior associated with this entrepreneurial shift, and to explore the differential impacts at three Finnish higher education institutions. This study may provide indirect benefits to Finnish society, as findings may help stakeholders in making decisions and planning for the future direction of university reform in Finland. In addition, the findings may be useful for other tuition-free countries in the consideration of tuition fees.

I will not benefit directly from this research.
No discomforts or stresses are expected.
No risk is expected.

The only people who will know that I am a research subject are members of the research team. No individually-identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research, will be shared with others.

The investigator will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached at leasa@uga.edu. Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone +001-706-542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

____

Leasa M. Weimer Signature Date
Email: leasa@uga.edu

Appendix F

Interview Transcription Convention

1990's: Emphasis on international "cooperation": sending Finns abroad.

Original quote:

"In the 1990s, at least from the Finnish perspective, these international activities were considered to be -- or cooperation was the word, to have cooperation, to have student mobility. And in 1990s for example here in Finland if you look at the ministerial documents or whatever at that time they always have a starting point that we are sending Finnish students abroad and nobody is coming here if I exaggerate a little bit, but only limited numbers. So it was seen in the beginning as a kind of an only outgoing student mobility. And cooperation was the word and programs like Erasmus and all the exchange programs were popular and they were the main means." –National Level

Proofed quote:

"In the 1990s, at least from the Finnish perspective, international activities were considered to have cooperation [in the form of] outgoing student mobility. If you look at the ministerial documents at that time they always have a starting point that we were sending Finnish students abroad and nobody was coming here (I exaggerate a little bit), but only in limited numbers. Cooperation was the word and programs like Erasmus and all the exchange programs were popular. But now in 2000 onwards and maybe late 1990s the emphasis shifted a little bit towards degree students and it has been continuing like that."

2000's: Emphasis on recruiting international degree students.

Original quote:

"The focus at least even though the exchange numbers are important and I think very big and then we have been very successful there but the kind of political discussions are focusing on degree students and more and more to recruiting foreign students to Finland. So I think there is a big kind of a thinking behind this that change of thinking and maybe it has to do also a little bit with the more economic kind of a rationale from cooperation to also to economical thinking. At least some politicians for example who want to have trials with the fees they would like to see this as a kind of an export industry."-National Level

Proofed quote:

The political discussions focus on degree students and more and more on recruiting foreign students to Finland. So I think there is big thinking behind [this] that has changed and maybe it has to do with more of an economic rationale, from cooperation to economical thinking. At least some politicians who want [the tuition fee pilot program] they would like to see this as an export industry.

Appendix G

List of Documents Analyzed

Source	Year	Title of Document	Language	Analysis	Context
Aalto University	2010	*Aalto Working Group on Fees and Scholarships: Report.*	English	X	
Aalto University Foundation	2012	*Annual Board Report & Financial Statements.*	English	X	
Aalto University Student Union	2010	*Note of Dissent on the Tuition Fee Working Group Report.*	English	X	
Bologna Declaration	1999	*Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education.*	English		X
Chancellor of Justice	1992	*Kysymys lukukausimaksujen määräämisestä korkeakouluihin 1.1.1993 alkaen. (English translation: The imposition of tuition fees in higher education).*	Finnish		X
CIMO	2010	*Erasmus Mundus –Tiedotuspäivä 13.12.2010. Kevään 2011hakukierros (ennakkotietoa). (English translation: Erasmus Mundus Information Day, 2010. Spring 2011 Round of Applications—preliminary data).*	Finnish		X
CIMO	2011	*Key Figures: Internationalization in Finnish Higher Education.*	English		X
CIMO	2012	*Erasmus Mundus.*	Finnish		X
Confederation of EU Rectors' Conferences & Association of European Universities	2000	*The Bologna Declaration: An explanation.*	English	X	
European Commission	2006	*Delivering on the Modernisation Agenda for Universities: Education, Research and Innovation.*	English	X	
European Commission	2010	*Youth on the Move: A Guide to the Rights of Mobile Students in the European Union.*	English		X
European Commission	2010	*Europe 2020: A Strategy for Smart, Sustainable, and Inclusive Growth.*	English	X	

Source	Year	Title of Document	Language	Analysis	Context
European Commission	2011	*Supporting Growth and Jobs--an agenda for the modernisation of Europe’s higher education system.*	English	X	
European Commission	2011	*Erasmus Mundus Programme Guide 2009-2013.*	English		X
European Commission	2012	*The Bologna Process - Towards the European Higher Education Area.*	English	X	
European Commission	2012	*About Erasmus Mundus 2009-2013.*	English		X
European Parliament	2000	*Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000. Presidency Conclusions.*	English		X
European Parliament	2003	*Establishing a Programme for the Enhancement of Quality in Higher Education and the Promotion of Intercultural Understanding through Cooperation with Third Countries (EM) (2004 to 2008).*	English		X
European Parliament	2008	*Education and mobility: action program for the enhancement of quality in higher education and the promotion of intercultural understanding through co-operation with third countries (Erasmus Mundus), 2009-2013.*	English		X
European Students' Association	2012	*ESU Activity Report 2011*	English	X	
European Students' Association	2012	*Financing the Students’ Future (FINST).*	English	X	
European University Association	2008	*Financially Sustainable Universities: Towards full costing in European universities.*	English	X	
European University Association	2012	*European Universities Diversifying Income Streams Project Summary.*	English	X	
European University Association	2012	*EUA’s Public Funding Observatory.*	English	X	

Source	Year	Title of Document	Language	Analysis	Context
Finnish Council of University Rectors	2005	*2005 Manifesto.*	English	X	
Helsingin Sanomat	2005	*Committee to Study Tuition Fees for Foreign Students in Finland (February 24).*	English		X
Helsingin Sanomat	2005	*Tuition Fees for Foreign Students to be Examined by Ministerial Committee (March 4).*	English		X
Helsingin Sanomat	2005	*High Tuition Fees Being Planned for Foreign University Student in Finland; Rates would vary between EUR 3,500-9,500 (August 18).*	English		X
Helsingin Sanomat	2007	*Parties Sharply Divided on Tuition Fees for Foreign University Students: Centre supports, greens oppose fees (February 26).*	English		X
Helsingin Sanomat	2008	*Tuition Fees for Foreign Students to be Introduced on Trial Basis in 2010 (August 15).*	English		X
Kärki, J.	2005	*A Study on Foreign Degree Students at the Universities of Helsinki, Tampere, Turku, Jyväskylä, and Helsinki University of Technology: "If I had to pay I would require value for my money."*	English	X	
Kela	2012	*Financial Aid for Students: Study Grant/Housing Supplement.*	English		X
Laine, V. & Maiväli, M.	2010	*Finland: Adjusting to an ageing population. European Commission Economic and Financial Affairs (ECFIN) Country Focus.*	English	X	
Ministry of Education	2001	*EU: koulutuspolitiikka—OPM: strategia koulutuspoliittisessa EU-yhteistyo¨ssa¨. EUstrategiaryhma¨n muistio. (English translation: EU Education Policy, the Ministry of Education's strategy for education policy in EU cooperation.)*	Finnish	X	

Source	Year	Title of Document	Language	Analysis	Context
Ministry of Education	2005	*Korkeakoulujen Ulkomaisten Tutkinto Opiskelijoiden Maksutyöryhmän Muistio. (English translation: The Committee on Foreign University Degree Students Tuition Fees.)*	Finnish	X	
Ministry of Education	2007	*A Development Plan for Education and Research: 2007-2012.*	English	X	
Ministry of Education	2009	*Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions in Finland 2009–2015.*	English	X	
Ministry of Education	2010	*Korkeakoulujen Lukukausimaksukokeilun Seuranta Ja Arviointisuunnitelma 2010-2014. (English translation: Tuition Pilot Monitoring & Evaluation Working Group 2010-2014.)*	Finnish	X	
Ministry of Education	2011	*A Development Plan for Education and Research: 2011-2016.*	English	X	
Ministry of Education	2011	*Korkeakoulujen Lukukausimaksukokeilun Seuranta Ja Arviointi:Työryhmän Väliraportti I-21.4.2011. (English translation: Higher Education Tuition Fee Experiment Monitoring and Evaluation: Working Group Interim Report, April 21, 2011.)*	Finnish	X	
Ministry of Education	2012	*University Reform.*	English		X
Ministry of Education	2012	*Education Policy in Finland.*	English		X
Ministry of Education	2012	*Korkeakoulujen Lukukausimaksukokeilun Seuranta Ja Arviointi:Työryhmän Väliraportti I-30.4.2012. (English translation: Higher Education Tuition Fee Experiment Monitoring and Evaluation: Working Group Interim Report, April 30, 2012.)*	Finnish	X	
Ministry of Education	2012	*Finland and PISA.*	English		X

Source	Year	Title of Document	Language	Analysis	Context
Ministry of Finance	2010	*Europe 2020 Strategy: Finland's Draft National Programme 2010.*	English	X	
OECD	2004	*Economic Surveys, Finland.*	English	X	
OECD	2006	*Economic Surveys, Finland.*	English	X	
OECD	2008	*Economic Surveys, Finland.*	English	X	
OECD	2009	*OECD Reviews of Tertiary Education: Finland.*	English		X
OECD	2010	*OECD Reviews of Tertiary Education: Finland.*	English		X
OECD	2010	*Economic Surveys, Finland.*	English	X	
OECD	2011	*Education at a Glance.*	English		X
OECD	2012	*Economic Surveys, Finland.*	English	X	
OECD	2012	*Income Distribution Country Tables: Inequality.*	English		X
Prime Minister's Office (2007).	2007	*Government Programme of Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen's Second Cabinet Appointed April 19, 2007: Government statement to Parliament.*	English	X	
Sorbonne Declaration	1998	*Joint Declaration on Harmonisation of the Architecture of the European Higher Education System.*	English		X
Statistics Finland	2007	*Population Development in Independent Finland—Greying Baby Boomers.*	English		X
Suomen Ylioppilaskuntien Liitto.	2012	*History*.	Finnish		X
Turun Yliopiston Ylioppilaskunta	2009	*Mid-Week Mail, week 47, 18.11.2009.*	English	X	
UNIFI	2012	*Current Events.*	English	X	
Universities Act	2009	*Unofficial Translation.*	English	X	
University of Jyväskylä	2011	*Vuosikertomus 2011. (English translation: Annual Report 2011.)*	Finnish	X	